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WHATEVER may be the letter of the treaty or of subsequent inter-Allied agreements, the decision that France shall get none of the first billion gold marks paid by Germany is obviously absurd. The Inter-Allied Finance Conference voted, according to the New York *Times*, to credit France immediately with the value of the coal which she may get out of the Sarre coal mines during her fifteen-year control of them. This about balanced the cost of the French army of occupation. The expenses of the armies of occupation are a first charge on the German indemnity, but by this method of accounting France would get no cash for her army costs, while England would get 600,000 gold marks, the rest of the billion going to Belgium, as Belgian reparations have priority after the army costs are paid. Our army costs are apparently left out of consideration, as is rather a habit with European debts to us. It is difficult to see why English costs, too, should not be deferred to the major needs of France. If such decisions stand, France will naturally be driven into a desperate policy of violent aggression. M. Casenave, in an excellently dispassionate statement in the New York *Evening Post*, has just pointed out that even if Germany succeeds in paying the entire indemnity asked France would still be 10,000,000 francs short of the cost of reconstruction. If most of the indemnity goes into the British Treasury, matters will be worse still. The Loucheur-Rathenau agreements for part payment in goods and labor are steps in the right direction; reduction of all the armies of occupation would go still further; but a little British generosity would help also.

ONE small relic of school-day Latin persists when most of the rest has vanished: "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" And that is just how we feel on reading that Premier Briand was particularly warm in urging the Supreme Council to organize an International Russian Relief Commission. We suspect that enthusiasm; and our guess is that the Russians will examine any such proposal with more thoroughness than the misguided Trojans showed the wooden horse. It is a pity that things are at a pass where even relief projects have to be studied with cold and suspicious attention; but the record of these governments, as also of our American Red Cross and of the American Relief Administration, is such that caution is necessary. A recent article by Mr. Hoover's former agent in Hungary actually boasted that it was he who hatched the plot which overthrew the revolutionary regime there. No wonder, then, that American labor groups are organizing independent relief committees, preferring to cooperate with the Friends Service Committee, which has proved its political neutrality. Meanwhile the Soviet Government is organizing relief work with the same sudden methods of mobilization which brought success to its armies, and is doing what it can to buy supplies abroad. In negotiations with Mr. Hoover's Baltic agent, Walter Lyman Brown, it has agreed to meet every indispensable condition. It has kept its word to free the American prisoners. What excuse can there be for further delay in giving the promised aid?

THE squabbling Premiers of the shaky Entente could not keep the peace between Turks and Greeks but they did the next best thing: they protected the profits of their own munition makers. At the Paris Conference they resolved on strict neutrality with the clear understanding that their nationals might sell arms to either belligerent. According to Mr. Eyre of the New York *World* Ambassador Harvey agreed that such a conception of neutrality conformed to the "American traditional policy." Of course if one belligerent controls the seas and insists on buying all the arms itself the Ambassador might admit in the light of recent tradition that circumstances alter cases. But that's another story and there was no rude German around to press the point. Neither was there any German to ask awkward questions about the principle of the sanctity of treaties as affected by the decision of the Premiers to hold the ring for the Turks and Greeks. That decision contemptuously flouts the Treaty of Sèvres, but to be sure that was a bad treaty, and, what is more to the point, quite inconvenient to its makers. And these are days when gallant youths are in no mood to die for the pledged word of diplomats.

UPPER SILESIA will continue to be a festering-spot —that is the sum and substance of the decision of the Allied Premiers. They could not reach an agreement themselves, so they passed it on to the League of Nations. But since the representatives of England, Italy, and Japan could not overcome the resistance of France in the Supreme Council, it is hard to see how the representatives of Eng-

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land, Italy, and Japan, together with those of Belgium, China, Spain, and Brazil will overcome French opposition in the Council of the League—especially as the League Covenant carefully requires unanimity in its decisions. Incidentally, this failure to solve the Silesian muddle furnishes another example of the persistently uncritical optimism of our newspapers. Tuesday's *Times* reported the Council opening with witticisms about Lloyd George's hair-cut; Wednesday the *Times* announced "French and British reach Agreement on Upper Silesia" in its front page headline; Thursday it reported "Stocks Soar in Berlin on Silesian News"; Friday it discovered "Council Deadlock on Upper Silesia"; Saturday, "Silesian Line Left to League Council." There are critics who say *The Nation* is too persistently blue; we submit that it is only honest to describe facts as they are. Honesty compels the further conclusion that the decision of the Allied Council "to send an exhortation to the German and Polish Governments to exert themselves to prevent disorders in Silesia while the Council is deliberating" is still another attempt to shirk the responsibility and nothing more. The only hope is that Briand realizes the justice of the British position and that time will tire the intransigent spirits in his own Parliament, thus making it easier for him to compromise and concede. He may better save his face by yielding to the League than to Lloyd George, and face-saving is the essence of statesmanship.

ONE of the few sound observations in Mr. Stoddard's alarmist book "The Rising Tide of Color" is a prediction of the ease with which the Indians by concerted abstention from all service to the English garrison could starve or drive them out. What Mr. Stoddard prophesied before the days of Ghandi's Non-Cooperation Movement has recently come uncomfortably close to fulfilment in the experience of the Anglo-Indian community in Assam. Beginning with the coolies employed in the tea plantations and extending to the railroad workers and then to the merchants, what we Westerners would call a general strike has seriously embarrassed all Europeans and reduced them almost to a rice diet. A letter from an Englishman, published in the London *Nation*, gives a graphic description of things. Like all frightened members of a dominant class the writer finds the source of the trouble in ridiculous or criminal agitators who prey upon the ignorant coolie, and his remedy is the end of "the government's policy of non-interference" with "the Non-Co-ops." The *Nation*, however, points out the likelihood that the outrageously low pay of the coolies (at most about eight cents a day) and their generally miserable condition have something to do with the matter. The latter explanation is the more probable; at any rate, the serious Assam coolie strike is only one of the signs that the days of unrestricted power for the British Raj are over.

SINCE the Presidential decision to make the Conference on Disarmament cover more subjects than was originally planned by Senator Borah is final, we can only approve of the wording of Mr. Hughes's formal invitation to the invited Powers. His inclusion, too, of a suggestion to have the Conference "formulate proposals by which in the interest of humanity the use of new agencies of warfare may be suitably controlled" may readily have consequences of far-reaching value to humanity. The submarine, the airplane, the dirigible, poison gas, and other forms of chemical destruction for purposes of warfare ought to go if mankind is to survive the next great war. The abandonment of any one of them would by itself warrant the calling of the Conference. It becomes more and more plain, however, that everything will depend upon the men who are to represent the United States. Hence we read with dismay the positive assertion that the American spokesmen are to be Messrs. Hughes, Lodge, Sutherland, and Underwood, with possibly Mr. Root or Mr. Taft as well. Two of them are outright militarists. The possibility that Senators Knox and Borah will be added alone gives us hope that men of vision with a clear understanding of what the world needs and a real desire for peace will be there to represent the conscience and the wishes of the American people. Otherwise the chances are for further compromises of the Versailles type. Fortunately, the fight for open sessions grows instead of waning.

SOME startling figures as to the world's shipping appear in Lloyd's Register of Shipping of July 1. According to this authority, there were in service on June 30, 1914, 19,061 steel steamers aggregating 41,984,000 gross tons, while there are now no less than 22,386 steel steamers of 54,764,000 tons upon the seas. This means that the world has not only made good the losses due to German submarines but actually possesses 12,779,000 more tons of shipping than were in existence prior to the war. This is reconstruction with a vengeance, particularly when one recalls how far the trade of 1921 falls short of that of 1914. In other words, with international trade shot to pieces we have 3,325 more steamers to keep busy than we had seven years ago, when the world was in quite a prosperous condition. This means, of course, that even should the trade of the world return to the 1914 figures there would still be a great many empty vessels. Hence, we may count upon increased bitterness of competition among the great shipping nations in the years to come. Then the Germans are bent on reconstructing their merchant marine, come what may, and the tonnage they turn out will further increase the surplus available, something that does not improve the outlook for the prosperity of the shipyards of the rest of the world.

IT is reassuring to read the outspoken statements of the World War Veterans and the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion in repudiating the mean-spirited and threatening demand of the officers of the American Legion that the President grant no amnesty to Mr. Debs. But other voices which ought long ago to have spoken for mercy and justice still are silent. We have reason to believe that the President is well disposed toward Mr. Debs and not ill disposed to many other prisoners of conscience. Yet Debs, an old man and far from strong, endures the heat of a Georgian summer in a prison cell and other political prisoners suffer the rigors of virtually solitary confinement because the President fears public sentiment if too promptly he follows the kindly dictates of his own heart! Thus it is that the respectables of America are the jailers of her idealists. How shall we explain this callous indifference? Is it that as a people we have no understanding of what prison is like? Or are we so in bondage ourselves that we do not know what freedom means or why it matters? Where are the liberals who once assured us that early agitation was untimely, but that at the proper season they would speak and all would be well? Has long waiting for a convenient season atrophied both their conscience and their capacity

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for righteous indignation? Where above all are the clergy and the laymen who profess loyalty to Him who came to bring deliverance to the captive and let the oppressed go free? Those who prize high spirit and unselfish devotion cannot bring themselves to pity Debs. But they must almost despair for the health both of a church and a state which thus persecute one whom Witter Bynner has called the last of the Christians.

ONCE more Postmaster General Hays has done the right thing in the right way. In readmitting the New York *Volkszeitung* to second-class mail privileges, he declares:

> I want again to call the attention of the publishers to the fact that I am not, and will not allow myself to be made, a censor of the press. I believe that any publication that is entitled to the use of the mails at all is entitled to the second-class privileges, provided that it meets the requirements of the law for second-class matter.

This is but the consistent application of a position previously taken by Mr. Hays. What is even more interesting, because new, is his further declaration that henceforth should it seem necessary under the law to deny mailing privileges to any paper, he will make available to the press and "others interested" a "complete file of the case" including a copy of the publication in question. On that record he invites criticism.

THE Erie Railroad has leased its important repair shops at Marion, Ohio, to a local corporation which will henceforth do the necessary repair work. The company's announcement contains a lot of pious talk about "cooperation with the community." Actually there is nothing that makes for any interest other than selfish. The scheme is directed against both labor and the public. Against labor, because it takes the shop men from under the protection of the rules of the Railway Labor Board—and Marion is notoriously an open shop, that is, an anti-union town. Against the public, because all the records show that when repair work is let out to private companies organized for profit the work costs more, even if the private company is not in itself a screen for railway insiders who want to conceal their own illegitimate profits. At this critical juncture in transportation affairs such a precedent as the Erie has set invites fresh distrust both of the competence and desire of railway management to render efficient and economical service.

THE only lady member of Congress is not afraid to stand up in meeting and say just what she thinks. Her refusal to be intimidated by the fact that she is so vastly in the minority does her credit. Sometimes, however, her remarks do her less credit than the making of them: for example, her attitude on the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill. "Its salient feature," she says, "is . . . the establishment of an autocratic, undefined, practically uncontrolled yet Federally authorized center of propaganda." Miss Robertson objects to the methods used by the bill's sponsors; she declares that the statistics offered in support of it "might find difficulty in passing the Ananias test," and that the claim of Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers League, that 680 babies die every day "is absurd on the face of it." These are grave charges which should not be made unless the person making them is prepared to back them with abundant proofs. Until Miss Robertson presents them—and we do not believe she can—we shall have to assume that she is not well informed.

FIELD MARSHAL HAIG, it appears, has given his personal notes and all documents relating to his part in the World War to the trustees of the British Museum with instructions that they are not to be opened for forty years. Lord Esher, the biographer of Kitchener, declares in the preface to his book that he now plans to seal up the Kitchener memoranda and correspondence so that they shall be made public only sixty years hence. These two actions raise a very serious issue, one that has bothered the biographers of great men from the beginning of biographical writing. To withhold such matter until the heat and passion of the hour has passed, until every man is dead who could challenge the accuracy or the wisdom of the documentary evidence, is undoubtedly an easy way of escaping controversy and helping to establish the reputation of a great man. Whether one thus serves best the generation which the great man led or misled is another question. One reason why the world has been deceived so easily is this very fact that official proofs of the misdeeds of diplomats and rulers have been sealed up so long that they were of interest only from an academic point of view when they appeared. It is like the universal conspiracy about war. Individuals and governments who partake in it do their best to suppress all its horrors—the worst films of the World War showing absolutely abominable inhumanity of man to man are now being discarded by the various governments lest war be brought into further disrepute.

THE quiet and sporadic celebrations of Sir Walter Scott's one hundred and fiftieth birthday make one wonder what the status of his reputation will be when his bicentenary comes around. Today that reputation, so far as the novels are concerned, is unimpaired. But the actual reading of Scott has declined from its highest point. Many schoolboys scorn his narratives, pronouncing them slow and heavy. For once we are with all our hearts at one with the conservatives. These youngsters, and youth is the time for Scott, are the victims of their inconceivably slack and sloppy training. Nursed on Zane Grey, school spirit, and fragments of pidgin-French, ignorant of Latin, of the Bible, and innocent, since the atmosphere forbids it, of any respect for their own tongue, they are incapable of sustained attention, rational interest, or enlightened curiosity. So they declare that even "Quentin Durward" and "Ivanhoe" are "too hard to get into" and heartily despise Scott for not anticipating the technique of the screen. Hence the future of this great instructor and delight of youth, no less great for the neglect into which his works are falling, will depend largely on the future of our educational methods. As those mend his popularity will increase.

Senator Lusk will not be able to attend further hearings of the Meyer Investigating Committee because of his hay fever [developed after the revelation that he had accepted 153 pieces of silver from the detectives of New York City after getting their bill through the Legislature].—Press item.

COMMITTEES call for Silver Lusk in vain
And only echoes answer them again—
Echoes of sneezing—for he cannot come,
Since horrible hay fever struck him dumb.
Singular fortune, that the sylvan god
Should lash *that* Senator with *golden* rod!

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The Irish the Arbiters

"YOU can't satisfy the Irish! What's good enough for Canada ought to be good enough for them." Beyond question this comment of a commuter on the Lloyd George-De Valera correspondence represents the superficial viewpoint of many Americans who scarcely progress beyond the headlines. *The Nation* itself has hoped that a complete dominion status might satisfy the Irish republicans for the present. Concerned as we have always been for true friendship between England and Ireland, we have cared far less for the formula under which it might be obtained. But on the other hand we are profoundly devoted to the principle of self-determination for races and nations. Hence we have felt, and must feel, that the final decision as to what Ireland shall or shall not accept rests not with Americans nor with the British but with the Irish themselves. Any settlement of the case, we believe, should come to them not as a matter of British generosity, but out of the moral right of any people to determine their future and the conditions of their existence. The utmost right of the British Government is to obtain assurances that Irish independence will not be used to the hurt of Britain and this right has been expressly and clearly recognized by President de Valera. The Irish, he says, are ready to negotiate treaties of free intertrade, mutual limitation of armament, and agreements for "facilitating air, railway, and other communications." They are ready to leave the question of Irish liability for a share of the British debt to arbitration. They will also submit the Ulster question to "external arbitration" if it does not—as President de Valera believes it will—yield to settlement by both the Irish parties of their own motion the moment the British Government stands aside.

Now it is the sober truth that these proposals are nearer to guarding legitimate British and Orange rights than are Mr. Lloyd George's proposals regarding Irish rights. There are at least three legitimate criticisms of the British proposals expressed or implied in President de Valera's letter to Lloyd George—a letter which is a model state document in temper, in moderation of language, and in frankness. First, the British proposals are obviously devised to keep Irish strength behind the Empire. For instance, voluntary recruiting for "the famous Irish regiments which have so long and so gallantly served His Majesty in all parts of the world" is expressly to be permitted. Now if the British Empire were in fact merely the association of "free communities" of which Mr. Lloyd George speaks that might be well. But the Irish, Heaven be praised, do not forget India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The nation which has produced Æ's idealistic political treatise, "The National Being," legitimately objects to the exploitation of Irish strength and Irish manhood for maintaining British rule over unwilling subjects. They want no more Irish O'Dwyers responsible for more wholesale atrocities in the Punjab than the British have yet committed in Ireland bad as their record there is.

Secondly, the British Cabinet is not ingenuous about Ulster. The Ulster issue, however created, is real and must be faced, but the six-county Parliament is a British creation and for a particular anti-republican purpose. Mr. George cannot evade his responsibility merely by a pious desire for "harmonious cooperation." So long as the present Ulster arrangement stands and Ulster is a spoiled child of British Toryism, a dominion status might easily prove illusory. Thirdly, that status, as President de Valera points out, is in any event far from secure. It is their geographical position which gives Canada, South Africa, and Australia their virtual independence. Let Ireland accept the British terms with the six conditions offered by Lloyd George and what guaranty is there that they will be respected? None, alas, in Mr. Lloyd George's own fame for good faith, none in the exigencies of British politics, and none in the long record of Anglo-Irish relations. Other guaranties are not unreasonably sought by a people who remember how the Act of Union was brought about. It may be objected that England can always coerce Ireland if she wishes to be unjust, whether Ireland is independent or not, but it will be a far harder task if Ireland is an independent country, while the moral weight of the world would be far more clearly behind an independent Ireland struggling to maintain her independence than behind a dominion quarreling over some domestic matter of greater or less importance.

But what then? Lloyd George declares firmly that independence the Irish shall not have. Are they to go back to bloodshed, to murder and rapine? Well, fortunately, as we write, neither party seems to have closed the door to further negotiations. Mr. de Valera's suggestion as to "explicit guaranties including the dominion's acknowledged right to secede" seems to us significant. The chief danger lies less in the Irish position than in the Premier's incorrigible habit of using great emergencies to strengthen his political power. An "Irish election" in 1921 may seem almost as appealing to him as the "khaki election" of December, 1918, whose results were so successful for him and so disastrous for all mankind. We cannot believe that negotiations which have gone so far will be allowed to drop, especially by the other Premiers. We wish that there might be a referendum held at which all of Ireland, North and South alike, might vote upon this question of dominion status with proper guaranties, for we cannot conceive of a great and generous nation insisting upon the vassaldom of a people which did not desire to remain in that position of bondage. Such a referendum would settle an endless number of disputed points besides clarifying the main issue.

Even as matters stand the gain is great. When we read of the Black and Tans and the Irish fraternizing we cannot believe that the former hideous state of civil warfare will return. It is in itself a tremendous advance that the negotiations have been for the most part admirably conducted on both sides—Mr. Lloyd George deserves praise for the release of the Dail Eireann and other political prisoners—and that the British Government has finally recognized that the Irish question has advanced a thousand leagues from the days of Gladstone and five hundred from conditions in 1914 when the question was not even of a dominion status but of limited home rule. Had Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George then offered dominion rule to Ireland we should be hearing nothing of an Irish question today. But the Irish have tasted blood; it may well be that they stand with De Valera and that they will say unfalteringly in the manner of our own Patrick Henry, "Give us liberty or give us death."

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That Great American Press

[*By The Nation's Special Clipping Service*]

EVERY once in so often we decide to try a press clipping service, but they never work out. The only first-class clipping service we have ever been able to discover is the *Nation* readers. They read papers from coast to coast, and they cull the choicest tidbits East and West. One mail brings us three. The first, from the Chicago *Tribune* of August 3, is in the nature of an apology:

> The *Tribune* published yesterday on page 2 a four-column photograph sent by its correspondent, Henry Wales of the Paris bureau, on the subject of riots in Moscow. The photograph was accompanied with what appeared to be a detailed story of revolt, machine-guns, and massacre of the Russian people in the streets of the soviet capital. The *Tribune* now regrets to learn that this photograph is a misrepresentation and that in fact it is several years old. It was printed in the rotogravure section of this paper on November 4, 1917. It was, in fact, a street scene in Petrograd during the war. . . .

We have met Mr. Wales before. Only recently, if we are not mistaken, his dispatches were featured under the head "By Henry Wales, Director, Tribune Foreign News Service." We shall be interested to see if that continues.

The Chicago *Tribune* at least is a paper which prints apologies. To be sure, the picture ran four wide columns, and the apology was rather inconspicuous, but it is something for a newspaper to apologize at all. We seldom see apologies, for instance, in the New York *Times*. That has its redeeming points, for it permits the Baltimore *Sun* to apologize for it. Witness this from the *Sun* of August 4:

> Journalistic rivalry sometimes leads to excess. A few days ago one of the New York papers had a hot-weather story about a man who had cut off his big toe to use as bait. Yesterday the New York *Times* countered with a story about Russian children tied in corners of a farmhouse to prevent them from eating each other up. It was printed as a special cable from Riga. While the effort of the *Times* to outdo its rival is not to be censured, still fault may be found with its particular method on two grounds. It has printed so much unreliable news about Russia that it ought to choose some other locale for its romancings, for otherwise its genuine news from that country will be discredited. Unimaginative readers will take these stories seriously. Then, too, this invention is criticizable because of its restraint. Why did not the *Times* line the road from Moscow to Petrograd with the skeletons of eaten children? That would have been far more gruesome. And equally creditable.

We feel it pertinent to state that Mr. Walter Duranty, the *Times* special correspondent at Riga, is the gentleman who signed that other special cable, printed in the *Times* the same day, charging Senator France with gross discourtesy to Colonel Ryan of the American Red Cross. We just wonder how much of that story to credit. Mr. Duranty, we might add, is a very able writer of fiction, frequently appearing among the contributors to one of our best-known five-cent magazines.

Then there is the Associated Press. It may not be original, but it is on the job. It helps the *Times* meet the *Sun's* demands. The *Sun* suggested lining the Russian roads with skeletons on August 4. On August 10 the *Times* printed this:

> On the Latvian Frontier Near Zilute, Latvia, August 10 (Associated Press)—Even their own children are being left behind to starve by the hunger-maddened peasants fleeing to Siberia or the Ukraine from hunger and death in the German Volga colony. . . . "The roads along which swarms of people are migrating are *literally sprinkled with the bodies of children*," say the colonists.

Well, we suppose it only goes to show that great minds run in the same inventive channels.

In its modest way, too, the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger* is not to be despised. In its issue of August 6 we read, thanks to another *Nation* reader, the story of bright young beggars in Kensington who invited a prosperous business man to take a raffle chance on them; fifty men were to give one dollar each, and the winner of the draw would have a beggar's services for a week. The *Ledger* comments:

> The police believe the men operating the swindle may be in the hire of soviet propagandists, trying to stir up trouble in industrial centers. A secret propagandist sheet, printed in Russian in New York, is constantly printing articles telling of "terrible" industrial conditions here. The paper, which finds its way back to Soviet Russia, prints these articles to encourage the simple peasants into believing that the starvation and idleness over there are world-wide. Of course it would be easy enough for them to make the articles up out of whole cloth, but how much better if they can show the actual stubs of the raffle checks, which will forever prove that Americans are forced to raffle their bodies in order to get work to feed their families. That is what the police believe may be behind the activities of the suave young men.

Now we don't quite know whether to score this story to the credit of the police or of the *Ledger's* prize cub reporter. We like that picture of illiterate Russian peasants reading the New York accounts of Philadelphia's soviet beggars.

To our readers who send these and other helpful clippings from our veracious press—hearty thanks!

Whose Book?

THE author looked unhappy. On the face of the editor he saw a delicate dismay. And he feared that dismay. For he couldn't, in his weaker moments, withdraw himself from a sense of humiliation that came to him from his friend's enormous intellectual distinction. He knew that his speech was going to be feeble, and it was. "In other words," he said, "I strike you, in this particular book, as having played the spiritual rough-neck."

The editor's smile was a perfectly sincere protest. "You've made the wrong gesture. Let's call it that. There are moments of querulousness. Your emotions are too contemporary with the facts. Wait. Remove all you record under some eternal aspect. Then rewrite."

Certain passages floated into the author's memory and seemed incredibly raw and awkward. They suddenly tormented him. He hastened, as though he were expiating them, to admit, "No doubt you are right. No doubt."

But he felt impelled to watch his friend with an almost visionary watchfulness. It was an oval face that he saw, a subtle and very sensitive face—a face that had dropped a veil of worldliness over its sensitiveness. He rejected the word worldliness at once. Rather it was a veil woven of exquisite good sense, of measured thoughts, of beautiful gestures. The author, who is humble, thought: Ah, to be like that. Then a question leaped up in him. But is my friend like that? A sudden clearness was in his brain. He spoke, and with a new assurance.

"I'm inclined to withdraw all I've admitted. You want

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me, dear friend, to write—to have written, not the book I have written, not even the book you would now have written concerning the same experiences, but the book you would have written if you had completely achieved that inner transformation of yourself at which, in the light of definitely embraced theories of human wisdom and decorum, you are working. You want my book to be the book your ideal of yourself would have made of the material in question."

The fine subtlety of the editor's smile was a little troubled. The author went on.

"You dislike in my book things that remind you of what you once disliked in yourself and have now subdued if not conquered."

The editor nodded. "It isn't as simple as that. It's a good deal more intricate. But suppose I grant you that. Isn't it, things being what they are, a pretty valid ground of criticism?"

"Yes and no," the author said. "You project your subjectivity too far into my book. You were rightly tempted to do that because there are strong common elements in our characters and experience. But—here comes the break—you have confronted these elements and this experience in one way, I in another. You have escaped from both into certain refuges. These are, if you will forgive me for being so crude, a graceful figure, the perfectly genuine air, and the worldly circumstances of an aristocrat. I have none of these refuges. I am not sure that it is good for one to have them. To me and to my book clings something of grossness, of violence. But they are the grossness and the violence of humanity when unshielded by accidental and temporary screens. I am vulgar as human pain is vulgar. A wounded man is not a dignified spectacle. I am as indecorous as passion and as rowdy as sudden death."

The editor had grown grave. "Very well. Let those half-truths stand. I am thinking of your interests as an artist. Permanent literature is made when life is translated into the terms that are proper to art, when the rhythm of your narrative obeys the harmony of beauty, when the common is transmuted into the significant, and the irritations of the hour into the passions of eternity."

The author shook his head. "It may be so, though I doubt it. But I am not concerned enough to argue. The ground is burning under my feet. The noblest, the most philosophical æstheticism is a tinkling cymbal to me today. I don't particularly care whether my book is either beautiful or permanent, whether it exhibits me in a favorable or unfavorable light. I want it to trouble people, to arouse them, to sting them. I want it to make for action and for change. If it influences life in a given direction by one hair's-breadth, it does not matter if I am misunderstood in hostile quarters and the book forgotten after a few months or years. I am more concerned for the book as fertilizer upon the fields of civilization than as art."

A slow, fine smile came over the editor's face. "How you exaggerate. You are primarily an artist. And you're trying to run away from yourself because life is not to your liking. Only I don't think you ought to run to the cover of propaganda."

The author laughed. "Precisely as I don't think you ought to run to the cover of mere beauty and of distinction at any cost. The artist is just simply a man who doesn't find life to his liking. He protests. You would do it one way, I have done it another way. My book is me."

Free Hair and Less of It

IF bobbed hair for women is the shortest route to cleanliness, let it be honored; if it is cooler and more comfortable than the longer variety, let it be even more fiercely championed; and if it is an aid to beauty, let the world join hands about it and raise a chorus in its praise! But, says Rumor nastily, sometimes it is none of these things. Sometimes, not to particularize unpleasantly, it is altogether undesirable. What shall be done then? And the answer plainly is: Look the other way!

There are some women who, having tried the experiment, having shaken a cropped head at the mirror for a while, and having washed it and brushed it and even curled it as much as seemed necessary, have decided that short hair was not for them. There are others who, once having had a taste of freedom, swear that they will never give it up; who describe short hair as the easiest and quickest and coolest and most attractive mode of hair-dressing that was ever invented. The innocent bystanders are equally divided into two camps. And all this is as it should be. There is no reason why there should not be as many opinions on the subject as there are heads. It seems axiomatic to add that with opinion the matter should end, and should not, under any circumstances, become coercion. So that a certain Chicago firm, in threatening to discharge any clerk who was not willing to confine her abbreviated locks in a hair net, was guilty of an unwarrantable infringement of personal liberty, and the one young woman who refused to submit, and who was dismissed, was entirely within her rights.

The whole matter, of course, is but another step in the emancipation of women—that much hackneyed phrase that denotes so hard and long an upward climb. Time was, not fifty years ago either, when a "lady" could not take a job in an office, no matter how insufficient her income, derived from the ladylike pursuits of painting sea scenes on shells or keeping boarders, might be. Time was, in other sections of the world, when a lady could not appear outside her house without a veil. The veil and the sea shells are alike dust. The self-supporting woman has ground them, with many other anomalies, to powder and scattered them to the four winds. And just when she is drawing a long breath of relief and settling down to her job in earnest, along comes a new commandment which decrees: Hair nets or the sack!

The girls and women who are so absurdly discriminated against must console themselves with the thought that Rome was not built in a day; if, for the sake of a job at a time when jobs are hard to get, they decide to accept the inevitable, they may even calculate, in moments of discouragement, that Rome took even longer to build than it takes for hair to grow out again. They may remember their sisters, the pioneer suffragists, and their other sisters, the pioneer lawyers and doctors and architects and even bank clerks, on whom the opposite sex frowned so mightily. They may, quite justly, decide that to pass rules about hair length is only a little sillier than to refuse women admittance to the bar; and, becoming philosophical, they may reflect that sillinesses go out of fashion almost as quickly as coiffures! The difficulty is that when one silliness goes out, another must be found to take its place, and no man may say on whom the blow will fall next.

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The Revolutionary G. H. Q.

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

YOU go up a long palm-flanked marble stairway, past a group of flunkeys inherited from the old regime, into a vast hall filled with a motley crowd attentively listening to a rather distinguished-looking gentleman with glasses, cropped mustache, and a tuft of beard, who is lecturing with the slow precision of a university professor. The building is the Nikolaev Palace in the Kremlin, Moscow; the crowd are the delegates to the Third World Congress of the Communist Internationale; the speaker is Leon Trotzky. You might easily have imagined yourself at a Y. M. C. A. convention in France.

Trotzky is telling the delegates to go slow. He is saying that the world revolution is not coming as soon as he had expected, though it is surely coming some day, and that therefore a revision of tactics is necessary. A few days hence Lenin will give the same sound elderly advice, and so will Bucharin. Betweenwhiles Bela Kun and the German Communists will rant extremist nonsense, and the Congress will applaud them, and then vote as Lenin and Trotzky advise. A Y. M. C. A. conference could not more surely accept the leadership of its chiefs.

I was rather proud of being the only bourgeois journalist in Moscow during the high assizes of the revolutionary G. H. Q.; but in fact the Congress was rather a bore. The crowd was the rarest collection of subversive characters ever gathered into one city in the history of man—Chinese, Korean, Japanese revolutionaries; some twenty dark-skinned Hindus speaking very polished English; American I. W. W.'s speaking much less polished English; British, French, German, Italian, Serbian, Bulgarian, even Icelandic and Liberian Communists; Norwegians led by a college professor and a street-car conductor; old-time and new-time Russian revolutionaries; delegates from all the strangely clad and turbaned peoples of the Caucasus and beyond. Rose and gold skull-caps, carved Damascus knives, huge lambskin head-dresses—these all were there. The delegates were picturesque; they were interesting individually; but as a congress they were dull.

Nothing in present-day Russia lacks a certain element of the picturesque and the bizarre. The very presence of these delegates of revolution in the old Czar's palace had its piquant quality; so the opening session in the old Royal Opera House, with monotoned trade unionists where once were the pearl necklaces and white shoulders and silks and uniforms of the privileged of the old regime. So, too, the grand review of the Red Army in the Red Square, with Humbert Droz, recently a Swiss pacifist parson, lustily cheering from the reviewing-stand, and Trotzky, in an unornamented khaki suit, quietly standing beneath. So, too, that moment in the Women's Congress when the strange and silent figures of the women of the East filed in, draped to their feet in long veils of subdued colors, and led by a little sockless short-haired Sovietskaya girl of the New West. But the fact was that the Congress came at a moment when the tide of revolution was at low ebb, and that the delegates knew it and consequently lacked the high enthusiasm of a year or two years ago.

Zinoviev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale, a rather heavy person who, in contrast to Trotzky, is far less interesting in the flesh than in his pictures, reviewed the revolutionary history of the year. His report was in the nature of those war-time communiques, "We have withdrawn in order to consolidate our positions." In September of last year the metal workers of Italy had occupied the factories in a surge of revolutionary enthusiasm. All eyes turned to Italy. Enthusiasts declared that the center of revolutionary interest had shifted from Russia to Italy. Then the workers evacuated the factories upon a government promise which the old Government failed to keep and which the new Government is even less likely to fulfil. In December the workers of Czecho-Slovakia, more radical than their leaders, had swept into a spontaneous general strike—which failed. In March the revolutionaries in Central Germany had taken to arms—and failed, dismally. In England the coal strike which had held superbly through April, May, and June, had ended in a distressingly meager compromise. In June, too, the general strike in Norway had failed. Meanwhile the strong Jugoslav communist movement had been declared illegal and driven underground; and the Bulgarian movement, one of the very few where the Communists actually control the majority of the industrial workers, was facing an era of repression which might end in the same way. The split in the Italian socialist movement, forced by the Communists themselves, had left the Communists a small minority. On the other hand the split in France had given the Communists there the dominant position as political expression of the working-class; and a strong consolidation of Left movements under communist leadership had given the Czecho-Slovak party, 400,000 strong, control of the mass of that proletariat. In England and in the United States the Executive Committee had persuaded the various quarrelsome communist groups, all of them small, to unite. "The Third World Congress," Zinoviev concluded, "is assembling at a time when the reactionary storm clouds are besetting the whole European horizon. Along the whole front international capitalism is assuming the offensive against the workers. Millions of unemployed are famishing. In almost every advanced capitalist country the bourgeoisie are joining bands of cutthroats—the Fascisti in Italy, the Orgesch in Germany. . . . Yes, neither in Jugoslavia, nor in Czecho-Slovakia, nor in Italy, nor England, nor Germany has our movement met with success as yet. Not merely once or twice shall we have to bear partial defeats in one or another country. But the struggle is on, it bursts into flames and burns brighter every day. . . . If the Communist Internationale continues to grow as rapidly as hitherto, the respite which remains for the bourgeoisie is really not so very great. The victory will be ours and much sooner than many of us expect."

Not a very convincing optimism, after all. Zinoviev, who with Radek and Bela Kun, the "little trinity" of the Communist Internationale, was largely responsible for the unsuccessful split in Italy and for the disastrous "March action" in Germany, was on the defensive. Half the Communists from other parts of Europe had a grudge against him for his rough dictatorial ways; had they had an alternative candidate to replace him, here is little doubt

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that Zinoviev would have ceased to shine in the bolshevik firmament, and a first step toward de-Russifying control of the Communist Internationale would have been taken. Zinoviev even had a "diplomatic illness" just before the Congress opened, but the political skies cleared, and Zinoviev's health improved.

The Russians would not have objected to a change. The burden of the international revolution is beginning to weigh heavily upon them. When Western governments were shipping arms and munitions and officers to aid every anti-bolshevik movement in Russia, it was natural that the Russians should give aid and counsel to revolutionary movements in the West. The working-class of Western Europe did much to stop the eastward flow of munitions and to discourage new interventions in Russia. The great stir of revolutionary movement in the East was in large part a war measure directed against the British Empire. The Congress of the Eastern Peoples in Baku was, as one bolshevik official said, "A big bluff to scare Lloyd George"—and it worked. Today, when England and Germany are trading busily with Russia, and the rest of Europe is getting ready to do so, the revolutionary movement can do little to help Russia. The task of communist Russia, whether regarded primarily from the point of view of Russia or of communism, is to build up a going economic concern. An international revolutionary headquarters is a useless expense. The rulers of Russia are still communists, and believe that their doctrine is the ultimate salvation of the whole world, but their main job is to demonstrate the efficacy of communism in Russia, and they are growingly aware that until they do that there will be no more communist revolutions elsewhere. The Third Internationale is already an embarrassment to them in their diplomatic negotiations with the capitalist Powers.[1]

Add to all this the perfectly obvious renaissance of capitalism in Western Europe and you have the reason for the change in communist tactics preached by Lenin and Trotzky. A year or two ago revolution was in the European air; business men, frightened, were making all sorts of concessions to the workers—wage raises, factory councils, eight- and even seven-hour days were being granted in bewilderingly rapid succession; and at that time the Russian Communists were calling and looking for immediate revolution and urging the Western Communist parties to drive out their hesitant "opportunist" members. Today capital feels sure of itself, and labor is in full though fighting retreat all across Europe; instead of urging purification of the parties the Russians are now urging propaganda among the masses in the trade unions, declaring that successful revolution is impossible until the majority of the working-class has been won to communism—in other words, a sage policy of caution. Trotzky made a long speech to the Congress to prove that capitalism, while temporarily prospering, was really approaching its ultimate collapse. It was an important speech, because in it and in his "Theses on the World Situation" (the Russians are always drawing up tremendously long "theses" on all problems and situations) he laid the foundation of the Communist tactics of the next few years.

Capitalism is recovering, said Trotzky, but only temporarily. While there were industrial crises before the war, outwardly similar to the present crisis, the characteristic of that period was a growth in general wealth; the periods of depression were shorter and less characteristic than the alternating periods of prosperity. But today, as a result of the over-long prolongation of the war, ruining the machinery of capitalism, depression must continue to be more characteristic than prosperity. He cited statistics to show that the crops of Europe, exclusive of Russia, were now 37 per cent less than before the war, coal production 18 per cent less, cattle stock lowered, while the population, despite war losses, had actually increased by several millions. The productivity of labor was less, partly because the supply of food available per head was markedly less than before. Meanwhile the apparent temporary prosperity following the war was not due to any real increase in the wealth-producing apparatus but merely to more intense exploitation; nowhere in Europe were new factories or new homes being built on any considerable scale. Currency was enormously depreciated, and all European governments were living by issue of paper money. The fluctuations of paper money were sapping the basis of the capitalist economy. Without restoration of currency there could be no real recovery of capitalist stability, yet restoration of currency would involve admission of bankruptcy by all the great European states. American prosperity was based upon war-time and after-war exploitation of the European war and could not long survive growing economic isolation. Capitalism's only escape was therefore in intensified exploitation of the working-class—in reduction of wages and of the standard of living, in increased hours, and higher production speed. This inevitably meant an intensified class struggle, wherein lay the opportunity of the Communists. The decisive moment might be postponed for some years, but the general tendency of the period was toward economic decline, which might be hastened by conflict between America and Japan or England, made likely by the sharpening competition in armament as well as by economic rivalry.

The Communists, in other words, revert from a period in which they have overemphasized the importance of the conscious revolutionary, to a more Marxian theory that economic factors determine the hour of revolution, and that the role of the Communist is to prepare the masses for the decisive moment. In the next year or two, if the revolutionaries of Europe obey Moscow, we shall see fewer attempts at armed revolution, and more active propaganda to win the masses organized in the trade unions to readiness for a "revolutionary moment."

Hence the importance of the Red Trade-Union Internationale which met at Moscow almost simultaneously with the Communist Internationale. Most of the trade-union organizations of Western Europe have been loosely federated in the so-called "Amsterdam Internationale," the organization which Mr. Gompers found too radical for the American Federation of Labor, but which is already too conservative for many of Europe's workers. It collaborates with the League of Nations, disapproves of the Bolsheviks, and is generally guilty of "reformism" as contrasted with "revolutionism," to a Communist the most serious of all offenses. The Amsterdam Internationale does not even recognize the Russian unions, which are in fact a part of the governmental machinery for the democratic management of nationalized industry, as real labor unions. The revolt against the Amsterdam Internationale, which finds its expression in the Red Trade-Union Internationale, is in part the decade-old struggle between reformists and revolutionaries in the

[1] Possibly the recent resignation of Zinoviev as governor of Petrograd has something to do with the desire to separate the civil government from the revolutionary headquarters.

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ranks of Europe's organized labor; it is in part the effort of the Communists to win control of the machinery of organized labor, and this it will be in ever-growing measure. For many of the consciously "Red" groups, such as the American and Canadian I. W. W., the French and Spanish syndicalists,[2] which sent delegates to this the first congress of the Red Trade-Union Internationale, bitterly resented the attempts of the Communists to control the new organization by delegating an ex-officio member of the Communist Internationale's Executive to the Trade-Union Executive and vice versa. More and more these non-communist groups, in so far as they have a syndicalist doctrine of their own, will draw back from the communist theory of party-exercised "dictatorship of the proletariat," and from the communist-controlled Red Trade-Union Internationale.

Indeed, I think the struggle of the future in the European labor movement is in reality between the Communists and the Syndicalists, who are united today in their hostility to the old trade-union and socialist reformism, but who are fundamentally opposed, one believing in a strongly centralized state, the other in a radically decentralized system of production. Despite the approach to power of the old socialist parties and the phenomenal growth of trade-union membership (e.g., Germany, 1917, 1¼ million; 1920, 8½ million) these do not seem to be the elements most significant for the future.

After all, the living interest of the communist movement is out on the battle-line of industry, not in a congress in so peaceful and unrevolutionary a city as is Moscow today. The endless discussions of the "Levy affair" in Germany, and the "Serrati affair" in Italy, in which those who opposed the official Communist tactics were condemned and the official action was approved more or less in the spirit of "You did quite right, but don't do it again," were inevitably dull to anyone not in the hurly-burly of the movement. And no congress where speeches are translated into four languages (Russian, German, French, English) can ever be exciting. It was, after all, very much like a training school of missionary workers, a sort of Y. M. C. A. or Men-and-Religion-Forward Congress. The food was much worse, but the spirit, the atmosphere of devotion and doctrine, was very much the same. And, too, the interest is not in the Congress, but in the success with which the teachings are applied.

[2] The French delegates represented not the General Confederation of Labor as such but the "Syndicalist Revolutionary Councils"—the radical Left wing, part Communist and part "anarchisant" of the Confederation.

Can the Church Stand Fire?

By HARRY F. WARD

FOR some time the advance guard of organized Christianity has been occupying portions of modern life where the Gospel has not yet been applied nor even interpreted. This was done with the consent of headquarters and with quite general approval. Before the war, the social service movement in the churches was in danger of the disease of popularity. Were not all right-minded men out for democracy everywhere—in industry, throughout the world, even in heaven? Do not the present ecclesiastical critics of this tendency still strenuously proclaim themselves "progressives"?

Now the outposts of religion are being bombarded, and the entire forces are getting drawn into the engagement. So-called investigating committees on revolutionary movements, public and private, are reporting on the churches, admonishing them to purge themselves of subversive tendencies and dangerous individuals. They are being warned by political office-holders and propagandists for industrialism to stop meddling with such matters as strikes and open-shop drives, to say nothing of the questions concerning the status of owner and wage-worker and the function of property which underly these concrete fighting issues. They are threatened with distinct pains and penalties if they disregard this warning.

All this is a new and somewhat bewildering experience for organizations that have waxed fat on popularity, whose militancy has been tested only against the disreputable elements in the community, and only partly there, that have only historic memory of the day when the church possessed such moral authority that offenders against the moral law would not think of questioning her judgments, let alone threatening her with reprisals. Can the forces of religion hold their ground? And what does it mean for the world if they are driven back?

The burden of the extensive and expensive printed propaganda attacking the statements of religious bodies concerning the social interpretation and application of Christianity is that these organizations are interfering in matters with which they have no concern and with which they are not competent to deal. Along with this goes the charge of "revolutionary" utterances and beliefs against certain individuals. From the one ground to the other the attack is shifted with a rapidity and a carelessness which indicate that a least part of the urge behind it is the necessity for the release of stored-up pugnacity by noncombatants in the recent struggle. For instance, when one well-meaning member of one of these voluntary snooping committees was shown that his organization had been circulating false statements alleging certain utterances of a well-known churchman concerning specific matters he countered with "But what about his book? You must admit its revolutionary tendencies." Another subcommittee chairman in an organization supposed to be assembled to inquire into revolutionary movements is now industriously engaged in trying to discover some data that could discredit the Interchurch Report on the steel strike. From defending the republic against Bolsheviks to protecting the twelve-hour day, the seven-day week, the lack of a proper standard of living, and the coercive non-union shop in the steel industry! Is this the inevitable descent to Avernus or the unconscious unfolding of the real animus of this drive against the churches?

The tactics of this attack are on the one hand to discredit certain leaders of the social movement in the churches, and on the other to compel organized Christianity to slow up or halt that movement by the withdrawal of funds. So far the results of neither method appear sufficient to justify the cost. No man has yet lost his post, even though the secretary of one supposedly respectable organization sought to get men out of their positions by circulating reports of alleged interviews in which they were supposed to have con-

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fided to a total stranger in a few minutes fantastic views which they had skilfully concealed from their colleagues and mysteriously withheld in their many public utterances and writings.

For the rest the attempt to destroy the influence of certain leaders has been the circulation of vague, general statements about their "redness" and their alleged associations with "Reds." The method is to daub the objectionable color on and trouble not at all about supporting facts. The climax of absurdity is reached when one of the highest placed officials of this nation makes alarmist statements about the churches in a printed article and supports them with one typical evening newspaper interview concerning one individual. The main result of such crude and stupid procedure has been to continue the educational work of the church social service movement concerning the nature of a certain type of industrialism. What kind of a thing is it which needs to use in its defense espionage and assassination of character by rumor? Also it may be guessed that many of the rank and file of the ministry are asking what the dominance of this type of industrialism is likely to mean for them if it is able to get out of its way inter-denominational leaders in somewhat independent positions?

More success has been achieved by following the familiar technique of the heresy hunter and misrepresenting the views of certain men by using selected quotations from their writings apart from the qualifying context and also by garbling their speeches. Much toil has evidently been expended by certain industrial propagandists in this direction. It is to be hoped that in the course of it their education has been furthered. One result is that the religious publishing organizations will for a time walk a little softly. This, however, is only a temporary digging in. There is enough social Christianity in the educational material of most of the religious groups to occasion an irresistible demand for more from the rising generation. Inevitably this economic heresy hunt is marking certain religious writers as "unsafe," for the tender-minded and the ecclesiasts, whose motto, like that of all office-holders, must always be "safety first." It is more than compensation, however, that the inquiring mind of youth will thereby be attracted to their work. Also it was time for the sword of judgment to cleave the social movement in the churches. It was trying to unite too many elements and points of view. This division will save us from becoming mushy.

The attempt to cut off funds from religious organizations that presume to declare moral judgment concerning industrial conditions and relations has cost some organizations quite a few subscriptions. On the other hand it has brought in some new ones, even from men in industry. Again the attacking forces overplayed their hand. If they had said, "We don't believe in this sort of thing. We, therefore, are not going to pay for it," their position would have been strong, yet not impregnable. But they also had to say, "Drop your social creed and we'll support you." Also they must needs add the insult: "The trouble with you preachers and professors is that you are underpaid. We'll raise your salaries and then of course you won't see anything wrong with the existing order." Thus again they revealed the nature of their case, confirmed the worst that the most unbalanced preacher had ever said about the moral and spiritual nature and consequences of the profit system, and made it perfectly clear why their type of industrialism did not want and could not stand interference.

Incidentally these defenders not only of the *status quo*, but also of some of its worst aspects, have thrown away whatever chance they had of using the church as the buttress of things as they are. With invisible bonds of social influence and indirect economic dependence the pulpit might in large measure and for a time be controlled, but by the rough and ready method of those who believe that money will buy anything it cannot be influenced at all, except in the opposite direction. So dead wrong was this cynical reckoning that the church would exchange its birthright for a mess of pottage, that one certain achievement of those who conceived it has been to cause the discussion of the industrial problem in pulpits and bible classes where it was scarcely mentioned before. The leaders of autocratic industrialism have raised the question of the independence of the pulpit in such a manner that many a young preacher is reexamining his commission to preach the Gospel, only to find that he has a message for whose sake he may well risk his livelihood and on which if need be he can stake his soul.

Also out of this episode the church is getting a much-needed consciousness of its place and worth. Having played second fiddle to the state for the duration of the war, and having so little to show for it in the improvement of humanity, the church has been somewhat low spirited and self-distrustful. Now it discovers that for some people at least it is a force to be reckoned with. Those who have done it this unwitting service meant to put the church in its place. They are succeeding beyond their intention or understanding.

Of course in the long run the policy of the churches will represent those who pay the bills. This is equally true of state supported churches and of those organized on the democratic basis of voluntary popular support. But there is likely to be a different result in the latter case. Modern organized Christianity is not an ecclesiastical institution receiving support as the price of a passport for the next world. It is a group of large interlocking enterprises for the extension of the Gospel and its benefits, spreading health and education as well as religion throughout the earth. Increasingly this expansion movement has come to see that its objective and meaning in time and space is a social order fundamentally different from the one we now call civilization, and continuously improving. Therefore in the denominations where the missionary spirit has been growing, what the members are supporting is not a fixed institution but largely an experimental search for a new world.

Moreover, one consequence of big drives for funds has been the democratizing of church finance. The big denominations are not dependent on any small group of financiers or industrialists. Their funds come from the great middle class and the multitudinous givers are not easily reached. Therefore the leaders of these churches can go in a direction that is displeasing to the financial and industrial powers if they are so minded. How far they can go contrary to the property interests of the middle class, or contrary to what its members are made to believe are their property interests by their financial overlords, is another question. That will be the test of how far the gospel of service and sacrifice, of new life and the search for a new world, has really gripped the rank and file. It is already abundantly evident that there are not a few laymen who will support preaching they do not like to hear because they know that religion must help them to find the way, the truth, and the life. A church composed of those to

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whom the Cross means nothing more than a possessive, personal salvation will subordinate religion to economic self-interest until it is finally and irrevocably damned. A church composed of those who know that the Cross is the challenge and the power for sacrificial service will bring the world redemption from the bonds of self-interest and will lead human society as well as the individual into life everlasting.

Those who have not this much saving grace will do well to carry out as quickly as possible their threat to separate themselves from those who are seeking the way of life. They can doubtless find preachers enough who will tell them only what they want to hear and give them their money's worth. The growing alliance between theological reactionaries in the ministry and economic reactionaries among the laity for a joint heresy hunt on both scores may yet accomplish this very division. If it comes in that way, on the initiative of the conservatives, it will be the beginning of a new day for religion.

The ultimate question raised by the present attack upon religious organizations and leaders is the question of moral authority. Has the church the right of moral judgment in economic questions? It has always exercised this right, as Jesus did, until Puritanism turned this matter, with so many others, over to the individual conscience. Then capitalism came along and, save for some utterances by the Roman Church, has grown up without any collective moral restraint, until the state in very self-defense was compelled to attempt its discipline.

The matter simmers down to the authority of the pulpit. Granted that practical programs are matters for discussion and experimentation, that the church is only one grouping in which such discussion will be promoted and such experimentation encouraged, and that in the main this is the business of the laity; then where resides the function of declaring the general principles that should govern economic conduct and of uttering judgment concerning the extent to which they are applied in current practices and programs?

If this function of moral judgment does not reside in the pulpit, to whom will an industrial society and a rising democracy intrust it? To propagandist organizations with an axe to grind? To legislative committees, vice-presidents, or premiers—all aspirants for the job, with perquisites. Politicians turning prophets! Has the war destroyed all sense of perspective and proportion? Considering the present low estate of the gentle art of politics, considering the pass to which its present practitioners have brought the governments of the world, surely the future delver into the chronicles of this topsy-turvy period will find no grimmer jest to lighten his task than the record of office-holders unable even to understand the economic situation of the world attempting to define and limit the duty of organized religion in relation to economic affairs.

Nor does the contention of the industrial propagandists offer us any better alternative. They want the function of moral judgment concerning economic matters to reside with the men of affairs, "the men who know." This is distinctly naive. Self-interest, which an elementary principle of law says cannot be permitted to enter into the decision of moot questions under an established code, is to be trusted to develop and apply principles of conduct in uncharted moral territory. This would mean that economic morality would never be more than the established practice of the dominant interest for the time being. But this is always challenged by a rising interest. Consequently this way we never achieve a sufficiently social morality to secure us peace. The policy of those aggressive industrialists who want the church to let them run their affairs their own way, should it succeed, would be a guaranty of class warfare to their children.

Recent industrial history has demonstrated that the technicians have a better knowledge of economic efficiency than the profit-seekers. This is because their interest is detached and scientific. By the same token the way to an economic morality that will make for social efficiency can only be found by the aid of a group whose interest is detached and scientific. Such a group is beginning to occupy the pulpits, local and national, of the modern churches. Increasingly its members are fulfilling their function to society and justifying their training by speaking with authority.

It is sometimes said, even by church leaders of another day and training, that the pulpit is competent only to utter the general principles of Christianity and is not competent to apply these principles to economic and political conduct. What a confession! As though the medical profession would say: "We can give you the general principles of health, but we are not competent to diagnose your present sickness nor to prescribe the regimen for recovery." And those charged with the cure of souls are facing a world suffering with desperate spiritual ills, which root in and grow out of its economic and governmental organization, and certainly will prove fatal if they continue unchecked. Who then will tell the world what it means to be Christian? What territory on earth is left wherein the church may lead men to establish the Kingdom of God according to its commission if it vacates those extensive regions wherein modern men and women expend most of their time, thought, and energy? If the church leaves them there engrossed in the mechanics of existence, how shall they ever develop the life of the spirit?

The authority claimed, and being secured, despite resistance, by the preachers who are applying the principles of Jesus to modern affairs is not any mere *ipse dixit* of professional status. It rests upon the scientific basis of knowledge of facts and on the democratic basis of the general social interest.

The ethics of Jesus have made such an appeal to mankind that there is in some matters a Christian conscience operating far beyond church circles. The preachers who can establish that a condition exists contrary to the standards of this partially Christian conscience will get a moral reaction. The facts then give them their authority for judgment. This is exactly what has happened with recent reports of church bodies on industrial situations. Not one of them has ever had its statements of fact disproven, though the opposition left no stone unturned in the search for error. At this point the preachers have proved themselves more competent than their critics, whose reports—of committees as well as spies—and propaganda articles continuously repeat the most ludicrous misstatements where the facts are easily obtainable, as for instance informing a committee of the United States Senate that a certain man wrote the Interchurch steel strike report, whereas this man never saw it until it was finished; and citing an utterance of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church to prove that a preacher was a liar for saying in print that the General Conference of the Methodist Episco-

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pal Church had taken certain ground. After such performances, and many more like them, it was high time for those who had been charging socially minded preachers with ignorance to shift their ground and raise the war-cry of "bolshevism." Here no facts are needed—just yet.

The final authority of the pulpit in matters of economic and governmental action rests upon its ability to point the way of life, its capacity to sense the unifying, common interest and to voice the universal aspiration. Above the battle of conflicting interests it must be able to perceive and indicate the course of justice that will lead toward peace and harmony. This function it will exercise in the democratic spirit, receiving aid and criticism from all others who seek the same end. But for this function the modern pulpit is being specially trained. Its "thus saith the Lord" is not only an inner assurance, but a conviction sustained by studying the developing experience of God through the history of mankind, by acquaintance with the record of man's struggle toward a social order founded on justice, growing together in cooperative good-will and enduring in peace. If this be not the eternal hope of men, disturbing their complacencies and satisfactions generation after generation, persistently refusing to let them stay settled in the place they have found good, then the preachers of the Gospel of Jesus are only the devotees of an other-worldly cult. But because it is in the nature of man, as well as in the essence of Christianity, to be "revolutionary," in the sense of continually making a new and better world, preachers have no need to draw back before that charge. Their appeal is to the universal urge for progress. The church that cannot stand fire on the ground that its teachings disturb the existing order must needs give way to one that can.

The main attack on the church, however, has not yet been launched. The present bombardment is directed by a handful of professional propagandists who constitute the latest type of parasite, which lives off the rich by scaring them. They are modernized sycophants, though our vernacular "boot-lickers" does more justice to the quality of their methods. Educated and high-minded captains of industry and finance must possess a vast contempt for such camp-followers and their ways, and if the coalescing financial oligarchy ever feels the need of influencing organized religion as it is influencing publicity we may be sure that its methods will be at least intelligent.

Then the church will have the choice of alliance with imperialistic capitalism that it had once with imperialistic Rome. The consequences involved in this choice, both for itself and for all human destiny, will be more far-reaching than that of the earlier period, but the main argument will be the same: "We will help you and you will do more good with us than against us." Do we not hear it already—the folly of endangering the vested interests of organized Christianity in practical human welfare for the sake of impotently assaulting economic injustice, which always has been and always will be? Also have we not more important spiritual interests committed to us? Will not well-disposed capitalists and politicians look after social and economic reform, so that we can attend to the major matters for which the church was founded? Which means that while we discuss infant damnation, or infant baptism, or the spiritual values of adolescence, according to our ecclesiastical affiliation, policies will be intrenched that will condemn millions of unborn children to a living hell and make impossible for other millions any real spiritual development. Which means that while we proclaim the revelation and realization of God through human brotherhood our governments under the irresistible propulsion of export capital will take attitudes that will set the world of tomorrow aflame with hate and warfare.

If the church yields the right to evaluate morally and spiritually the very foundations of the political and economic order it is throwing away its credentials to bring salvation to the world. If the pulpit abates its prerogative of passing moral judgment upon the organized as well as the individual ways of men it is forfeiting its right to existence. Galsworthy closes "The Skin Game" with the question put to himself by the English aristocrat who bit by bit has lost his gentleman's code that was the core of his life in the successful fight with the industrial upstart neighbor who attacked him: "What is gentility worth if it can't stand fire?" At this point in the experience of the church those who believe in the Gospel of Jesus had better transpose this question to fit their own circumstance—"What is Christianity worth if it can't stand fire?"

The Beggar

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

My chief occupation for five awful years has been begging at the feet of the civilized world.—Herbert Hoover.

WHEN the ships blow up and the towers fall down
There dogs mankind, through lane and town,
A querulous Beggar in a Syrian dress,
Telling the story of his wan distress.
He dogs the market-place, he dogs the church-door,
The wagons and the wharves from shore to shore;
"A penny, a penny," he crieth his lack
Down a million miles of railroad track;
The cottages of all the lands make one row;
And the gatemen at the shops daren't bid him go;
And the bank-grilles open as his steps advance,
And he walks right up through the roses and the dance . . .
And I saw him one morning in Trafalgar Square,
And when I loafed at Lemnos, he was there!

Though he is not blind, nor has a wooden leg,
Yet the people all would shudder were he not to beg.
And he lifts you a palm and his one song old:
"My children . . . are hungry . . . my children . . . are cold."

When the great Dam bursts and the Red River runs,
And the Earthquake smites, and the Forests are asmoke,
And a hundred leagues of Cannon char earth to a coke,
Hear the wailing of the Beggar in the Galilean cloak—
For the wailing of the Beggar is louder than the guns—
As he lifts you a palm and his one song old:
"My children . . . are hungry . . . my children . . . are cold."

'Twas on Broadway that I saw him last,
Where the roof-signs flare on cornice and mast . . .
And the Syrian cloak of the Beggar Nazarene
(Soiled where the fingers of the children had been) . . .
Rent by wire . . . frayed by slag . . .
Was girdled in the folds of my country's flag.

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Britain's Strangle Hold on South China

By CHARLES HODGES

ONLY a diplomatic straw in Eastern winds it may be, but China is taking the efforts to force the validation of the Cassel Collieries Contract between an officially backed British syndicate and a defunct provincial government as an earnest of intentions possessing disconcerting significance.

The background, immediate and more remote, cuts across the entire train of events since the organization by the Industrial Powers of the New Consortium, ostensibly for the cooperative development of China. The involution of Chinese politics, which had produced a split between the North and the South running back to China's entry into the Great War, had resulted in a further cleavage of the Constitutionalist Government at Canton headed by Sun Yat-Sen—the outcome of a coup d'etat finally placing the reactionary military governor from the neighboring Province of Kwangsi in control of Kwantung and its resources. Now while the Lamont Mission to the Far East was laboring to bring Japan into the international banking pool by the proposal to fund the conflicting national equities in China, without vitiating Japanese reservations in the North, a program accepted by all the Industrial Powers at the Paris Conference in principle so far as the Allied interests were concerned, a powerful British syndicate proceeded to treat with the militarist usurper in Canton for an economic strangle hold on Kwantung's future.

Thus Tuchun Mok Wing-Sun and his pocket administration controlling Kwantung for the moment executed the concession agreement drawn up by Major Louis Cassel of the British crown colony of Hongkong, by which the coal and transportation potentialities of the province were turned over to virtually a British monopoly. Coincidently the annual conference of British Chambers of Commerce in China taking place in Shanghai went on record as opposing exclusive exploitation along the lines of national monopolies. Now just before Mok Wing-Sun was obliged to relinquish control over Canton a few months later, this pact with the British syndicate was confirmed, subject to the usual approval of the Peking Central Government.

The expulsion of the Kwangsi militarists accomplished, a reorganized constitutional regime headed once again by Sun Yat-Sen returned to power. The popular outcry throughout Kwantung against the contract made by the erstwhile Kwangsi dictatorship immediately brought results, and the Sun Yat-Sen Government, taking over Canton, canceled the concession. Thereupon the British interests, never in sympathy with the South, turned Peking-ward to bring about the approval of the agreement over the heads of the Canton Government and in spite of the protests of the people of the province. Such are the external circumstances surrounding one of the most far-reaching bids for the foreign control of Chinese resources ever made. The terms of the contract bear this out (see text for provisions in full) as an examination of the twenty-two clauses demonstrates, to wit:

Exhibit "A": Extent.—The Military and Civil Governors of the Province of Kwantung, since ousted, covenanted with the British syndicate to grant the latter a monopoly for the *exploitation* of coal areas *designated within twenty-one districts* lying along the two railway lines of the province during *an initial ninety-year period* (Clauses 8 and 10) following on a *fifteen-month period of exclusive exploration* (established by Clauses 13 and 20). Not only does it place the available mining regions adjacent to the Canton-Kowloon Railway, terminating at Hongkong, and the uncompleted Canton-Hankow Railway running north in the hands of the British syndicate; the inclusion of the unusual legal phrase "etc." after the enumeration of the districts by name would indicate a provision in the mind of the promoters for unlimited penetration of the province in any direction.

Exhibit "B": Financial Considerations.—The monetary quid pro quo consisted of an advance of $100,000 silver, plus $900,000 to Tuchun Mok Wing-Sun and his associates at a subsequent date on the formation of the operating company to be known as "The Kwong Tung Collieries, Limited," as a basis for Chinese "participation." This was included in the promotion details of a *$10,000,000 nominal capitalization divided into "A" and "B" shares.* The "A" shares go entirely to the seven directors, three of whom only may be of Chinese nationality in conformity with the Hongkong Company Law, as well as the allotment of three millions of the "B" shares. Of the remaining "B" shares, a million are turned over to the Kwantung contracting party, representing the advance by the company to the province at six per cent, which is to be repaid the former from such dividends as may be declared; the other million "B" shares is to be divided into two trust funds, $500,000 in shares held by trustees nominated by the province "for the benefit of the poor people" and a similar provision "for educational purposes." But before any dividends are to be paid on the "B" shares, "out of the profits of the company, there shall be first paid all working expenses, *a royalty not exceeding one dollar per ton of all coal extracted and dealt with,* all reasonable expenses to staff, sums properly payable to the Kwantung Government, and *interest at the rate of (8) eight per cent per annum on the capital represented by the 'A' shares.*" The returns, then, to the people of Kwantung are comprised in the surplus left from payment of expenses, a royalty not exceeding a dollar a ton, and eight per cent on the preferred "A" shares, *as applied equally to the holders of both "A" and "B" shares*—a two-tenths holding in the form of a last obligation for the greatest possibilities in South China. (Clauses 6, 7, and 8.)

Exhibit "C": Use of State Police Power.—The Kwantung administration guaranteed further to revoke any "concessions or mining rights" in the districts allocated the British syndicate "which have not yet been worked on a commercial basis"; to allow the company to acquire such as have been worked "on payment to the proprietors thereof such sums as they may agree to accept"; and to render all possible assistance enabling the company *"to acquire such concessions or mining rights at a reasonable price."* (Clause 17.) Fifty mining rights under operation are thus specified as subjects for expropriation and six others are listed unworked in the two clauses following. The added right of eminent domain delegated to the British interests (Clauses 14 and 15) for the development not only of mines but of transportation facilities of all kinds in addition to the use of those existing puts them in a position challenging any possible competition.

Exhibit "D": Temporary Suspension of Concession Only.

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—Under Clause 20, the vicissitudes of Chinese politics are discounted, for "in the event of civil war, strikes, boycotts, or other disturbances" preventing the British syndicate from carrying out its obligations under the contract, *the concession is automatically extended.* Therefore it is more than a matter of cancelation by the Sun Yat-Sen regime. The Canton Government must prevent the Kwangsi Tuchun who signed the Cassel contract from coming back into power in Kwantung, supported by the Northern leaders fighting the South and abetted by British influence.

The implications of this recital of the entanglement between foreign business and Chinese politics are vast. In the foreground we have the struggle the British stronghold of trade, Hongkong, is making to retain her strategic position commercially in the Far East. It is openly charged that the extreme latitude allowed the British interests is to permit oblique moves isolating Canton economically from the great future developments now on the horizon, thus reducing the menace to Hongkong supremacy presented by an industrialized Canton independent of Hongkong as to imports, exports, manufactures, and communications and opening the vast interior wealth of southwestern China. Across in the New Territories Britain leased from China in 1898 as compensation for territorial acquisitions by rivals, there are iron deposits which can be made Hongkong's industrial backbone. When it is remembered that the Cassel syndicate has these iron resources in mind, the stakes with coal laid down in the back door of Hongkong at five dollars a ton are large enough to make this more than a nightmare of Eastern diplomacy. Hence we find that behind the Cassel project are marshaled the big interests connected with all the industrial and marine enterprises whose future depends upon coal—coal now brought from Japan—and among them the politico-financial power of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, that gigantic money instrument of empire east of Suez which at the same time heads the British banks in the Consortium.

This is the sort of thing which is so firmly imbedded in the path of the Washington Conference with its forthcoming cleansing of the Augean stables of Pacific statesmanship as a condition precedent to any limitation on armaments. If this is nothing more than an essay on the part of British business enterprise to find out where the Consortium stands on such matters, it comes at an unfortunate time. Even though the concession was actually consummated more than a year ago, the recent British moves to circumvent Canton's veto through pressure on the Peking governmental authorities make it impossible to view it as entirely a transitory effort. The plea that such a project is solely "industrial" and hence without the purview of the international pool for the development of China, to which, it is understood, the British were committed, simply means that vested interests in the Far East can ride a coach-and-four through the Consortium. In the words of a Chinese proverb: "A bottle-nosed man may be a teetotaler, but no one will think so."

The practical result of these tactics is to surcharge the Eastern atmosphere with suspicion of the very honesty of any profession of good intentions toward China. There is only the Machiavellian difference of method between such efforts to seize on a tacit monopoly of Chinese provinces by British business in the South and Japan's more direct strong-arm diplomacy in the North exemplified by the Twenty-One Demands of 1915. Moreover, in the present chaos of China a day will come in the not distant future when Japan produces a sheaf of dubious documents as respectably sired as the Cassel concession. When I saw Wu Ting-Fang, the venerable Foreign Minister of the Southern Government, in Canton at the close of the Great War he spoke confidentially of the strenuous efforts then being made by certain foreign interests to buy into control of southern China's resources, of his apprehension over future developments because of Canton's opposition to such deals on any extensive scale, and of his regret that American enterprise, being non-political, was not more active. Not only is the destiny of North China involved; the identical game is being played in the desperate efforts being made to force the Far Eastern Republic to underwrite the same sinister alienation of Siberia's resources to Japan which holds the stage in British South China ventures.

Weighed in terms of the Cassel concession, the Anglo-Japanese combination again shows itself to be effectively the most fertile formula for balanced aggression in existence. So long as these purposes hold there is no basis for America's joining any Anglo-Japanese alliance to stabilize Pacific destinies. Neither is the possibility that the delays in making over the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to conform openly to the League of Nations may foreshadow the announcement of its metamorphosis into a "trade pact" to prevent dangerous friction between British and Japanese interests in the Far East reassuring to the peace of the world. In these days of the economic mobilization of nations in the cut-throat competition of business systems, backed more or less openly by the police power of the industrialized countries, the development of "regional business spheres" is even more threatening to the future than the more familiar and easily located efforts at political domination.

The Women's Peace Congress

By ALICE RIGGS HUNT

Vienna, July 19.

THE most significant development for international peace at the third Congress of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom held at Vienna July 10 to 17 was the eager part played by delegations from the Ukraine, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, China, Japan, Mexico, and other countries now facing internal strife and external coercion. This Congress, unlike the other two (The Hague, 1915, and Zurich, 1919), was held during so-called "peace," but the atmosphere of Central Europe probably has more of the dynamite of uncertainty and despair than it had during the war. These women however eliminated thick patriotic clouds of mutual antagonisms and declared, at a public meeting called to discuss the questions of nationality and the rights of minorities, that they unalterably oppose the use of violence in solving their countries' problems. The Poles with the Germans signed and sent a telegram to the Supreme Council demanding decision *at once* on Upper Silesia, "in accordance with and in the interest of justice."

No one, however, was satisfied with the Congress. The conservative delegates vaguely said that they had hoped for something better, while the radicals declared in no uncertain terms that the Congress had side-stepped on every important principle and method which could be calculated to further permanent peace. The keynote was struck by the chairman, Miss Jane Addams, in her opening speech

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when she dwelt upon the humanitarian aspect of peace, the natural instinct of women to preserve human life, and the need of the world for more love and mutual understanding, but omitted to mention the economic causes of war.

There was most color at the public meetings, although the audiences understood little of either French or English. First, when the delégate from Belgium (who had been imprisoned two years in Germany, sent to Switzerland as an invalid, and upon her release after the armistice had immediately begun work among Belgium soldiers to organize the adoption of starving German children by them) declared with all the passion of French oratory that the war had left only the vanquished, because women and children still suffer and the manufacture of munitions goes steadily on, that if all women made up their minds to stop war it would be stopped, and that we must struggle to capture the new Bastille, the Bastille of militarism, the audience gave thunderous applause. And again, when Anna Louise Strong of Seattle said that the last groups in all countries to uphold war were the organized workers, who had learned too well that the only victors were the profiteers, that so long as vanquished people worked for starvation wages the "victorious" countries would continue to have the highest percentage of unemployment, that the effects and causes of war are international, that competition in industry is but another form of war, and that the workers are therefore beginning to look toward a cooperative society as the basis of peace, there were loud cries of *traduction* and the press was clamorous for a correct summary.

The many radical pacifists and the few communist pacifists at the Congress seemed to reduce several influential members of the executive committee to a state of fright. The attitude taken toward them was exactly similar to the treatment accorded the steadfast pacifists by the League of Women Voters at its recent convention, as if they meant to say: "Dear lady, we are glad that you add to our bourgeois respectability by being here, for we absolutely must have all kinds of people and we will be sure to record your presence in our written report, but please, *please*, don't mention it *now*. Perhaps some day when it is expedient and popular to be an absolute pacifist we will find that our convictions have always agreed with yours, but in the meantime, we beg, do not advocate them here."

Three times the Congress "hedged" on the important principle of non-resistance. "Like a cat walking around a bowl of milk too hot to drink," said a European delegate! First, when a group of women, who were frankly militaristic concerning support of certain of their national factions, sought admission as members to the W. I. L. P. F. There was protest from those who wanted the qualification for membership to include a boycott of war, but a member of the executive committee moved that the matter be referred back to the committee for decision. Second, when the Austrians presented a very able argument in support of a pledge against war, the resolution was referred back to the committee on pacifism in practice, from whence it emerged in an emasculated form, mixed up with other matters, and merely stated that "We welcome the reaffirmation of the pledge against war and regard it not only as the expression of the spirit of this Congress, but as a goal of our work." When the fraternal delegate from the Woman's Peace Society rose to present a resolution—" . . . that we adopt the principle and practice of *non-resistance* under all circumstances"—she received a prolonged and warm welcome, but before the [favorable] vote was taken the Chair explained that the resolution must be voted upon by the delegates as *individuals* and that, unlike other resolutions, it would not *bind the organization to the principle.*

The Congress wanted the League of Nations to "work toward gradual disarmament for all states equally and toward abolition of the private manufacture and trade in war munitions, as steps in the direction of general disarmament." A telegram was sent to President Harding thanking him for calling the Conference on Disarmament. The British delegates were not satisfied with this, however, and called a meeting with the American and Japanese which resulted in the adoption of a resolution warmly welcoming the proposed conference, but including an amendment introduced by an American [Alice Riggs Hunt] which recommended to the national sections "that they emphatically and continuously insist upon the original meaning of the word 'disarmament' in its literal sense, thus preventing the use of the term as a camouflage for 'reduction in armaments,' which latter would simply continue the principle of the use of force for settling international disputes on a relatively smaller scale."

Ireland came before the Congress twice. The British introduced a resolution affirming "that this congress of women upholds the claim of the Irish people to national self-determination, and recognizes that Ireland's struggle for independence is of vital importance to the civilized world, inasmuch as peaceful international relations cannot be assured until the principles of self-determination and government by consent are universally accepted." The Americans proposed that "whereas throughout her long struggle for independence Ireland has from time to time shown wonderful powers of non-resistance and capacity for martyrdom such as that of Terence MacSwiney and Sheey-Skeffington, this W. I. L. P. F. in congress assembled in Vienna ventures to make the appeal to Dail Eireann and to the Irish people that when their independence is secured they incorporate disarmament as part of their national policy."

The social functions for the delegates were numerous but very simple, as the executive board had voted to ask the Austrian hostesses not to serve refreshments. The American delegation had previously sent to Vienna hundreds of dollars in food drafts for the use of all delegates and visitors in order not to infringe upon the limited supply of a starving city. At the first entertainment the delegates were thrilled in being received as workers for international peace in the very suite of rooms at the Foreign Office from which the fatal note to Serbia had been dispatched in 1914. But shades of the Hapsburgs! Not a military uniform, not even a bicycle policeman, in sight either inside or outside of these ceremonial halls! President Hainisch stood so informally in the center of one large room without any functionary whatever to make introductions that some delegates failed to note his presence. Miss Addams, in a brief speech of acknowledgment at the Rathaus, where the Mayor of Vienna received the delegates, remarked that at the time of her last visit, in 1913, women were not allowed to organize a political woman suffrage association and were forbidden by law to attend political meetings, but that now many women are members not only of the city council but also of the national parliament, and statistics report the percentage of women workers organized into trade unions as higher than among men.

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The Arbitrator

The Mooney Case

ALTHOUGH Thomas Mooney has been in prison for over four years, there is still doubt concerning his connection with the explosion of the bomb during the preparedness parade in San Francisco in July, 1916. George P. West wrote in *The Nation* in April, 1921, that "no intelligent citizen any longer denies that he [Mooney] was convicted on perjured testimony"; but in that very month the assistant prosecutor wrote an open letter, which has recently been sent to us by the Better America Federation of California, defending the court proceedings. Therefore, it seems appropriate to present both sides of the controversy from official sources.

Extracts from the Report of J. B. Densmore, Director General of Employment, submitted by the Secretary of Labor to the House of Representatives, July 22, 1919, in compliance with their request for information, being Document 157.

It will be enough to remind you that Billings was tried first; that in September, 1916, he was found guilty, owing largely to the testimony of Estelle Smith, John McDonald, Mellie and Sadie Edeau, and Louis Rominger, all of whom have long since been thoroughly discredited; that when Mooney was placed on trial, in January of the year following, the prosecution decided, for reasons which were obvious, not to use Rominger or Estelle Smith, but to add to the list of witnesses a certain Frank C. Oxman, whose testimony, corroborative of the testimony of the two Edeau women, formed the strongest link in the chain of evidence against the defendant; that on the strength of this testimony Mooney was found guilty; . . .

The exposure of Oxman's perfidy, involving as it did the district attorney's office, seemed at first to promise that Mooney would be granted a new trial. The district attorney himself, Mr. Charles M. Fickert, when confronted with the facts, acknowledged in the presence of reputable witnesses that he would agree to a new trial. His principal assistant, Mr. Edward A. Cunha, made a virtual confession of guilty knowledge of the facts relating to Oxman, and promised, in a spirit of contrition, to see that justice should be done the man who had been convicted through Oxman's testimony. The trial judge, Hon. Franklin A. Griffin, one of the first to recognize the terrible significance of the exposé, and keenly jealous of his own honor, lost no time in officially suggesting the propriety of a new trial. The attorney general of the State, Hon. Ulysses S. Webb, urged similar action in a request filed with the Supreme Court of California.

Matters thus seemed in a fair way to be rectified, when two things occurred to upset the hopes of the defense. The first was a sudden change of front on the part of Fickert, who now denied that he had ever agreed to a new trial, and whose efforts henceforth were devoted to a clumsy attempt to whitewash Oxman and justify his own motives and conduct throughout. The second was a decision of the supreme court to the effect that it could not go outside the record in the case—in other words, that judgment could not be set aside merely for the reason that it was predicated upon perjured testimony. . . .

The basic motive underlying all the acts of the prosecution springs from a determination on the part of certain employer interests in the city of San Francisco to conduct their various business enterprises upon the principle of the open shop. There has been no other motive worth talking about.

As for their plan of operations, it was simplicity itself. A terrible crime had been committed, and popular indignation and horror everywhere glowed at fever heat. From the standpoint of the unscrupulous element among the employer interests the opportunity seemed made to order. To blame the outrage on certain agitators in the labor world seemed not only possible, but, owing to various concomitant plausibilities, doubtless appealed to the foes of organized labor as possessing all the elements of a stroke of genius. . . .

(Mr. Densmore installed a dictaphone in District Attorney Fickert's office and devotes 56 pages to conversation, from which extracts are here given.)

"The following is a list of persons who visited Tom Mooney after his incarceration, including Leon Trotzky, Bluma Krauss, Mrs. Skeffington, Mother Jones." Fickert claims that Mooney was visited while in jail by Leon Trotzky, the famous Russian radical. The fact is that Trotzky was not on the Pacific coast at any time during Mooney's incarceration. . . .

* * * * *

"Do you know," said Fickert, "I've been thinking of a scheme a fellow told me about. There's a certain kind of dope you can get to put in their drink without them knowing it, and they say that if a man never told the truth before he will tell it when he gets that dope inside of him."

* * * * *

This caused Cunha to exclaim: "Chief, if you can get a witness who will put Mrs. Mooney at Steuart and Market Streets, I don't give a damn if you put her there in a balloon."

Fickert said: "I think I can put her there in a taxicab. It looks as though we had the witness."

"If you have, Chief," said Cunha with real enthusiasm, "I will put that s--- of a b——[*sic*] Mrs. Mooney on trial again and I will convict her by every rule of the game."

"I am going to keep everything quiet," said Fickert, "so there won't be any leaks."

"That's the stuff, Chief—don't tell anybody," Cunha advised. "I never open my face about the Mooney case. If they ask me I say I don't know anything, because if they get anything from you or me they figure they are getting it from someone close. If we get that stuff on old lady Mooney, Chief, I will be on the job with you."

* * * * *

There was some unintelligible muttering on the part of Fickert. Finally, he broke forth with "That s—— of a b—— Griffin [presiding judge at the trial of Mooney], if it wasn't for him we would have had Mooney shoved right off at the end of the trial. . . ."

The record establishes three sets of facts, each one of which has a bearing upon the question at issue, namely, whether Mooney and his fellow defendants received fair trials at the hands of the district attorney. These three sets of facts are:

1. That Fickert is in constant association with men and interests of such a nature as to render it incredible that he should be either impartial or honest in the conduct of a case of this nature; that he is and has been for some time past cooperating with notorious jury and case fixers; . . .

2. That Fickert and his associates have within the past month framed, and conspired to frame, cases with which it was his sworn duty to deal impartially.

3. That Fickert and his associates, within the past month, have conspired to fabricate evidence with which to convict Mrs. Mooney; and that to this end they have attempted, in the grossest manner, to intimidate and blackmail a prospective woman witness. . . .

Photographs and testimony introduced by the defense showed that Mr. and Mrs. Mooney were on the roof of the Eilers Building, a mile from the scene of the explosion, at the moment that they were represented by the prosecution as being in Weinberg's automobile in lower Market Street.

Two witnesses, Mrs. Mellie Edeau and her daughter, who testified in two of the trials, altered their testimony between the two, and were shown, by the police records, to have been at first unable to identify either Billings or Mooney. . . .

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These methods were identical with the ones still in use, as shown in detail in other parts of this report. So thoroughly were they understood by court, jury, and prosecutor that in the trials of Mrs. Mooney and Israel Weinberg, Oxman was not introduced and swift acquittals resulted. . . .

Thus the cases against the defendants had already fallen to pieces before the present investigation began. It only remained to demonstrate that the weakness and dishonesty of the prosecution's testimony was not an accident, but was the result of a consistent policy of conspiracy and corruption. Fickert is seen throughout this report to be prostituting his office in other cases precisely as he prostituted it in the bomb cases, and if there was previously any doubt as to whether a prisoner whom powerful interests desired to convict would receive a fair trial at the hands of Fickert there is now no doubt about the matter whatever. . . .

Ordinarily the relentless persecution of four or five defendants, even though it resulted in unmerited punishment for them all, would conceivably have but a local effect, which would soon be obliterated and forgotten. But in the Mooney case, which is nothing but a phase of the old war between capital and organized labor, a miscarriage of justice would inflame the passions of laboring men everywhere and add to a conviction, already too widespread, that workingmen can expect no justice from an orderly appeal to the established courts.

Extracts from a letter signed by Martin Swanson, assistant prosecutor, dated April 7, 1921.

Shortly after Mooney had been convicted, Oxman was charged with suborning perjury based upon certain letters which he had written to Ed. Rigal. The grand jury investigated the charge and refused to indict Oxman. This was not the same grand jury that returned the indictments against Mooney and his codefendants. However, a police judge issued a warrant for Oxman's arrest and held him for trial in the Superior Court, where Oxman was promptly acquitted by a jury. Before the grand jury in this investigation, and at the trial of Oxman, the Attorney General acted instead of the district attorney, because of an inference that the district attorney had been guilty of misconduct. Oxman testified that he had written the letters to Rigal, whom he had not seen in twenty years or since Rigal was a boy, in an effort to induce Rigal under a pretext to come to San Francisco so as to determine if Rigal was the man who met with and spoke to Oxman at Steuart and Market Streets on July 22, 1916; that Rigal had withheld a postscript to one of the letters in which Oxman wrote that, if Rigal was not in San Francisco on July 22, 1916, he need not come to San Francisco; that Rigal came to the Terminal Hotel, where he met Oxman in the lobby and introduced himself as Mr. Stone from Michigan, to which Oxman replied that he could not recall ever having met him before; that later that same day Rigal made known his true name to Oxman, who promptly informed Rigal that he had made a mistake and that he was not the man whom Oxman saw at Steuart and Market Streets on July 22, 1916; that Oxman immediately informed the district attorney that Rigal was not the man he had met in San Francisco on July 22, 1916. Oxman was supported by the clerks in the hotel where these conversations took place. Rigal admitted on the witness stand that he was a drunkard and a gambler and that he had received money from the defense.

Since that time a determined effort has been made to tamper with the witnesses who testified for the prosecution. Estelle Smith was continuously annoyed and complained many times to Captain Matheson. Finally on December 12, 1917, she signed a statement which had been prepared for her in which she claimed that she was an unwilling witness and testified only because she had been threatened with prosecution by members of the district attorney's office. Fremont Older featured this statement in his paper prior to the Fickert recall election and the statement was undoubtedly made to influence the voters. However, it is well known here that Estelle Smith was a very willing witness and that she talked very freely to the officers of the bomb bureau in the presence of Mayor Rolph and that she was very positive in her identification of Billings and had even noticed a small scar on his forehead. Mr. Fickert was retained in office by an overwhelming majority.

R. W. Smith, a former police officer, has made a statement to the effect that shortly after the explosion, he went to the roof of the Eiler Building, where he saw Mr. and Mrs. Mooney and that he so informed Captain Matheson and the district attorney, but was not called as a witness. His testimony would be of no importance in the case, because witnesses testified and photographs were submitted to the jury showing that Mooney was on the roof of the Eiler Building at 1:58 p. m., and the prosecution has never disputed that fact. The explosion occurred at 2:06 p. m., and Smith did not see Mooney before that time. It is well known to persons familiar with San Francisco that Mooney could reach the roof of the Eiler Building five minutes after leaving Steuart and Market Streets, and the jury evidently decided that he had ample time to get there as he had 15 or 20 minutes' time. . . .

John MacDonald, who testified for the prosecution in the bomb case, is said to have made a statement to Frank P. Walsh in New York in which he repeats his original testimony, but he claims that he could not have identified either Billings or Mooney had he not been prompted by Captains Matheson and Goff and Mr. Fickert. MacDonald was very positive in his identification of these two men and the statements which he made at that time are of record and they show that MacDonald made the identification without any prompting whatsoever. Just what happened to MacDonald after that to induce him to make these charges against the officials above referred to, I do not know; but I have been informed that bribery was resorted to in this and other instances and I believe that to be true, because after Mooney had been convicted an effort was made to bribe me. . . .

You may rest assured that the statements which were made by these witnesses immediately after the explosion and before anyone could tamper with them are true, and I believe that any unbiased person will take that view. This propaganda to free Mooney is not new, but it has been carried on to a greater extent in this case than in any other. The same kind of propaganda was carried on in the McNamara cases, in the Ford and Suhr cases, and the Caplan and Schmidt cases, and by the same people. That is, by Geo. P. West, Fremont Older, and others. Their object is, of course, to free the defendants if possible, but they have another and more sinister purpose, namely, that of causing the public to lose faith in our governmental institutions, especially in our courts. That is the aim of all Anarchists. The principle here involved is far-reaching and entails serious consequences, because, if a man who happens to belong to an organization, can commit foul murder and, being convicted thereof, can escape just punishment by serving three years until the statute of limitation for perjury has expired, after which he either bribes or intimidates the witnesses to change their testimony—then our courts are of no avail. . . .

I am anxious to do what I can to prevent the church and religious people being duped into aiding this Anarchist element, because this element would use the church and its followers as a means to its ends and, having attained them, would destroy the church and all religion if that were in their power so to do.

Arbitrary Comment

THE pamphlets from which the preceding excerpts are taken contain 157 and 90 pages respectively, so the present summary does not render entire justice to either side. Mr. Swanson elaborates upon the past life of Mooney, and his connection with radical organizations and publica-

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tions. He proves to our satisfaction that Mooney is not the sort of man we should select for pastor of our church. He demonstrates that Mooney has said and done many foolish, and possibly unprincipled, things. He exhibits letters which indicate that Mooney may not have been averse to the use of force to obtain the ends desired by labor; but we cannot see that he has established the guilt of the defendant in any definite act of violence at any time in his career.

The evidence presented on the other side is taken from a source not partial to the defendant, but is the result of an investigation made by a Federal Department in order to discover the facts in the case. There is no reason for doubting its conclusions, based upon a clever investigation which confirmed the rumors of perjury. The dictaphone demonstrates by direct quotation that the District Attorney has at least the same disrespect for morality that is attributed to Mooney. The profanity and vulgarity of his daily conversations are certainly more forceful than any language of the condemned man. Mr. Densmore convinces us that there was a motive for producing witnesses to lie on the stand, and it may be interesting to refresh our recollection of Rigal's testimony before the San Francisco grand jury on April 30, 1917:

> In the morning I met him [Oxman] and we went out to breakfast and he took me over to Steuart and Market, and he first took me on the opposite side of the street where I was supposed to have met him, don't you see, and he said: "Now along about here is where you are supposed to meet me; I stepped over here and bought some fruit from this stand, then we get across the street and while standing over on this corner an automobile drives up with five people in it and in the front seat on the right-hand side is a man sitting holding a suit case on the outside of the running board, and that was Mr. Mooney." . . . Later he wanted me to identify all of them. I told him I could not do that. I wasn't there. I was in Niagara Falls . . . I said: "Now, hell, Mr. Oxman, you can get on this witness stand and tell your story all right," I said, "I can't because I was not here." He said: "Hell, you were here as much as I was. . . ."

Someone committed the dastardly crime of placing a bomb where it killed and injured many people; and the State of California was bound to use diligent effort in running down the perpetrator of the foul act. It was proper to arrest and examine all suspicious persons, especially if their records were bad, but under no circumstances should the public prosecutor use witnesses who are known to be testifying to what they did not see. The radical movement can be fought in more effective ways than that. The prestige of the established order is weakened when it departs from its own rules in order to cripple its enemies. We firmly believe that any fair-minded person who reads the complete history of the case will reach the conclusion that Mooney would not have been convicted if only true evidence had been presented.

When we called the attention of a prosperous New England lawyer to the fact that the unbiased report made by the Government denounced the prosecution unequivocally, he replied that it was an impertinence for the Federal Government to interfere in any State, and that when the court and jury had determined a case it was better to drop the matter. Surely it must be proper to reopen a case when the testimony upon which the conviction has been secured has been proven false! How can we expect the laboring man to respect the established system when he sees the principal exponents of "law and order" disregard the primary rules of law and order to obtain their wishes?

One of the worst blows that organized labor ever received was the disclosure that the McNamaras did blow up the Los Angeles *Times* Building. The entire cause suffers from the immoral acts of the few, and the explosion of a bomb is futile as well as monstrous. So also is the disregard of common justice by the officials of a State.

If Mooney was guilty of placing the bomb, or had knowledge of the crime and did nothing to prevent it, he should be punished; but the alibi he established appears valid, and the witnesses and methods of the prosecution were certainly discredited. If the Chamber of Commerce, the public utilities corporations, and the State of California were willing to have a labor leader condemned to death by false testimony, they were guilty of violence, not so primitive as bomb throwing, but more heinous and disastrous because of the exalted position they hold in the community. Violence defeats its own ends in both cases. Either side in the conflict between employer and employee that maintains its morality will win the sympathy of the public and ultimately gain its ambitions.

The Arbitrator
P. O. Box 42, Wall St. Station,
New York City.

Once When We Were Both Together

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ONCE when we were both together, Spring came to our courtyard.
"Let me in," he cried.
He had brought for us in whispers secrets of his gladness,
Lyrics of new leaves.
I was busy with my fancies, you sat at your spinning,
He went back unheeded.
Suddenly we started when we saw his parting shadow
And his remnant roses.

Now you are away, beloved, Spring comes to our courtyard.
"Let me in," he cries.
He brings for me fitful shivers of the noonday shadows,
Dove's unmated cooings.
I sit idle at the window and a phantom spinning
Spins to me sad dreams.
Now that spring has for his gift the gift of secret sorrow
He has doors all open.

Contributors to This Issue

HARRY F. WARD is the author of numerous books and professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary.

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In the Driftway

BLACK clouds lay banked low on the horizon. Only a narrow strip of light, a very furnace of flaming red, broke through between the storm-clouds and the sea. The passengers, chattering after dinner, were struck to silence as they came on deck. Only the mother of four marriageable daughters broke the spell. "Isn't it just beautiful!", she cried ecstatically. "Just like a post-card!" The Drifter has this on the authority of a returning voyageur who sourly insisted that none but an American could have perpetrated it. "A symphony concert reminds them of their Victrola records, a camp-fire of a gas log, a sunset of a picture post-card. It's a second-hand nation, with second-hand impressions, thinking second-hand thoughts," declared this sour expatriate, "and if ever it produces a work of direct, spontaneous, creative beauty the second-hand critics pounce upon it so suddenly and chew it so thoroughly into a second-hand paste that the poor artist loses his unselfconsciousness and joins the national band of second-handers." The Drifter besought his friend to tell him in what land creative artists grew great today unspoiled, uncritic-ed, and without self-consciousness. The sour expatriate revealed himself critic of his century as of his country. "It's a second-hand age," he began. But the Drifter and his friend had turned a corner and the sun shone full on the glinting, shimmering peak of the Woolworth Building. "A five-and-ten-cent second-hand age" came vaguely to the Drifter's ears. But the Drifter was no longer listening; he was feasting his eyes on the imitative beauty of the second-hand age, and rejoicing in the sight.

* * * * *

WE Americans are too race conscious to appreciate the riches that lie hidden in Negro songs and Negro speech. Perhaps the American Negro himself is too eagerly seeking recognition of his equality to wish recognition of an art much of the splendor of which lies in its primitiveness. The Negro, too, is becoming standardized on second-hand white models—and it is a pity. But there is nothing less second-hand than such speech as this of Marcus Garvey, who describes himself as President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Provisional President of Africa:

> Some people—some foolish white men and ignorant Negroes, some of them—believe that Negroes should not talk big. Brother, I want to ask you where do you get that idea from? Where do you get that notion from that Negroes should not talk big? This is the time, this is the age for big talk. Talk on, Lloyd George, I can hear you, I can hear you talking for the rights of Englishmen. Talk on, Clemenceau, I can hear you talking for the rights of Frenchmen. Talk on, Charles Evans Hughes, talk on, Warren G. Harding, I can hear you talking in the name of 90,000,000 white Americans. You would be untrue to your race if you did not speak for them. Talk on, Sonnino, talk on, Orlando, I can hear you talking in the interests of millions of Italians. Talk on, Ishii, I can hear you talking in the interest of 60,000,000 Japanese. I say: Talk on, New Negro, talk on without stopping; talk on, talk on, and let there be a free Africa, and if anyone dares stop you, use the power that God Almighty gave you to battle your way through the world.

The Drifter does not relish Marcus Garvey's politics, or his nasty attacks upon Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, but he prefers his literary style to that of President Harding.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Poland

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Doesn't Mr. Fauntleroy know that it wasn't the Kosciuszko Squadron nor General Haller's so-called army that created the Polish Republic, but exclusively the Russian Revolution? But this fact did not prevent the ungrateful Poles from invading Russia, with the encouragement of militaristic and imperialistic France and the connivance of England. Doesn't Mr. Fauntleroy know of the Sazonov diplomatic letters with respect to Poland in case the Allies won the war? Doesn't he know that the Czar's Government, with the acquiescence of France, insisted on the cession to Russia of Silesia and Galicia as its price for participating in the war? Under these circumstances what chance would there have been for Mr. Fauntleroy and the Kosciuszko Squadron to impress Poland with the American idea or with their desire for a Polish republic? Mr. Fauntleroy is, moreover, under an illusion with regard to Poland's independence and her wonderful constitution. That the Polish "insurgents" had the financial, military, and moral support of France is no longer disputed. It was in the political and economic interest of France that Poland should annex Silesia. Her enemy Germany would thereby be weakened and her tool Poland become an effective buffer state. One might think that the Polish Government could have stopped the raids on Silesia, but it didn't lift a finger to do it. Mr. Fauntleroy's elation over the Polish constitution seems out of place when one considers that the liberal element after a hard struggle recently succeeded in eliminating a clause providing that only a "Polish Catholic" should be eligible for the presidency. The land clause, also, is pretty satisfactory to the landed aristocracy which dominates Poland.

Peoria, Illinois, July 1 J. H. HAHN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Yes, there *is* Poland, as Mr. Cedric Fauntleroy says. There is Poland, to the extreme sorrow and woe of some four millions of Lithuanians who were Russianized and Germanized by the same oppressive methods as the Poles were, and who had the same experiences in building up an orderly government as the Poles have. Their land was just as seared by the war as the fair lands of Poland. But instead of hiding under an excuse that the men of Versailles had left them undefined frontiers and therefore proceeding to define those frontiers by the aid of Zellgovski and Korfanty, the Lithuanians having a boundary dispute with the Letts called in an outsider, an Englishman, Professor Simpson, as an arbitrator, and are lawfully abiding by his decisions, although in some instances these are extremely unfavorable to them. And since November last the Lithuanians are doing their utmost to achieve peace with the aggressive Poland which for two years has been holding their capital by superior force of arms. But the Poland that *is* desires no peace unless it be a peace which swallows up the Lithuanians.

Brooklyn, June 24 VYTOLD SIRVYDAS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Poland is either as Mr. Cedric Fauntleroy describes her or she is as she is. Allowing his statements to remain unquestioned, I cannot refrain from expressing surprise at an article written for the purpose of "answering every attack upon the Polish state and people" without a word concerning that one horrible Polish pastime—pogroms—which did as much to discredit Poland in America as anything else we here know of Poland. To Americans the Poles today are a liberty-mad and liberty-abusing people, and no other Polish activity has influenced this opinion so much as the pogroms. The word Poland brings to most the image of pogroms. Poland—Pograms!

Chicago, July 11 ISADORE SCHAUHOUSE

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A Net Spread in Vain

MY DEAR MR. SHAW:

I understand a number of friends are writing to you and urging you to come to the United States. May I say how gratified we of *The Nation* would be should you come to us?

Yours very sincerely,
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,
Editor

MR. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW,
10 Adelphi Terrace,
W. C. 2, London, England.

DEAR MR. VILLARD:

This conspiracy has been going on for years; but in vain is the net spread in sight of the bird. I have no intention either of going to prison with Debs or taking my wife to Texas, where the Ku Klux Klan snatches white women out of hotel verandas and tars and feathers them. If I were dependent on martyrdom for a reputation, which happily I am not, I could go to Ireland. It is a less dangerous place; but then the voyage is shorter and much cheaper.

You are right in your impression that a number of persons are urging me to come to the United States. But why on earth do you call them my friends?

G. BERNARD SHAW
Peebles (traveling)
4-8-21

The Sacco-Vanzetti Trial

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You made thoughtful comment in your issue of August 3 upon the recent murder trial of Sacco and Vanzetti at Dedham, Mass. As I understand, the question of guilt properly hangs upon the evidence of the identity of the two Italians with the actual murderers. On this all-important point the prosecution seems to have failed. A large body of testimony was produced, from persons who knew the defendants, to show that on the day of the murder one of them was on business in Boston, and the other selling fish in Plymouth, and neither of them, therefore, at South Braintree, where the crime was committed.

The history of the case goes back to that disgraceful terrorist period, when Attorney General Palmer was spying out and running down "dangerous" opinions and clapping innocent men and women into prison. Sacco and Vanzetti doubtless belonged with the group for whom Mr. Palmer was hunting. They carried weapons—in nervous fear and for protection, say their friends; to commit robbery and murder, says the prosecution. However explained, the fact has an ugly look, at least in this part of the world. But it obviously proves nothing in identifying these two men with the South Braintree murderers.

What now shall we think when the judge, in charging the jury, indulges himself in the rhetoric of the advocate, exhorting them to "loyalty to government," and to "seek courage in your deliberations, as did the American soldier boy as he fought and gave up his life on the battlefields of France"! Grant that the judge meant to be fair, but what could have possessed him to throw the weight of his office into the following astonishing paragraph? "If a person is willing to use a deadly weapon such as a revolver upon an arresting officer in order to gain his liberty, what would you naturally expect would be the gravity of the crime of which such person must be consciously guilty?" This is not evidence, but a guess, in the lack of valid evidence of the main point in the trial, namely, the identity of the defendants with the as yet unknown murderers. Can judge or jury guess a man to the electrocution chair?

It will be a public misfortune if this case is permitted to leave a sense of smoldering dissatisfaction in the community. The recent conduct of courts and governmental authorities has gone far to shake men's confidence in our institutions. The American people are said to lack reverence for law. How can they help it? Did war ever produce reverence? We do not really need reverence for laws and courts, but an immense increase of respect for truth, justice, and humanity, without which all our institutions are a sham.

You have suggested that Italians ought to help make an appeal for a new trial. Yes! And ought not others also to be interested? The office of the Defense Committee is at 32 Battery Street, Boston.

Boston, August 5 CHARLES F. DOLE

Eugene Debs and Henry Ford

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Recently there appeared in a Federal court the agents of Henry Ford's paper, the *Dearborn Independent,* which the local authorities were trying to suppress. The authorities disliked Mr. Ford's anti-Semitic hallucinations. They claimed that, if uninterfered with, it would have such results as Mr. Burleson feared from the unhampered circulation of the New York *Call* or Mr. Palmer from such speeches as Eugene V. Debs delivered at Canton. So, under some local espionage act, they forbade sale of the *Dearborn Independent.* But Mr. Ford's agents had read the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution and the similar section of the State constitution. They held that these passages are written in plain English intelligible to all, not in a mystic tongue intelligible to constitutional lawyers only. So they appealed to the Federal court. After hearing from the complainants how their constitutional rights were being overridden, and from the local authorities what vicious and silly doctrines were being circulated, the learned judge handed down a righteous decision, one that until the Debs case was judicially acted upon would have been considered a matter of course. After reviewing the actions of the authorities the judge said:

> That such action is taken in good faith under a belief that the article in question tends to create religious and racial dissension may be conceded, but the law in all its long history supplies no instance in which either a race or a religion won the approval and disarmed the prejudices of another people by forbidding the latter to write and speak their minds freely. Be this however as it may there is no more justification for prohibiting its sale on the streets than there would be to prohibit the sale of the Cleveland paper whose political views and personal attitude on other questions met with their disapproval. If the defendants' action were sustained the constitutional liberty of every citizen freely to speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible only for the abuse of that right, would be placed at the mercy of every public official who for the moment was clothed with authority to preserve the public peace, and the right to a free press would likewise be destroyed.

Who would guess that the judge who rendered this decision was the same one who presided at the trial of Eugene V. Debs for freely speaking his sentiments? Who would have prophesied three years ago that this same judge would acknowledge the right of every citizen to express his views freely on all subjects? Who would have expected him to realize the wrong of placing free speech "at the mercy of every public official clothed with authority to preserve the public peace"?

Baltimore, August 15 SAMUEL DANZIGER

Pro-German, Pro-English, Pro-Irish

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My newsdealer has just told me a story that I cannot help passing on to you. Recently a man entered his store, and spent considerable time looking through the magazines as if in search of some thing. Finally, after some hesitation, he picked up a copy of *The Nation* and said, "Haven't you any *other* Irish literature?"

Paterson, N. J., July 25 ALLAN G. HARPER

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Books

The Byron Problem

Astarte: A Fragment of Truth Concerning George Gordon, Sixth Lord Byron. By the Earl of Lovelace. Revised edition. London: Christopher's.

THE perturbed spirit of Byron is never, it would seem, to be allowed to rest; the "great Byron mystery," that repulsive but sinisterly fascinating piece of "secret history," has again, now for the fourth time, been brought to the attention of the public. The rumors that were current a hundred years ago at the time of the separation of Lord and Lady Byron had died down and had been all but forgotten when in 1869, with characteristic good intentions, bad taste, and bad faith, Harriet Beecher Stowe created a furore of discussion by her notorious book "Lady Byron Vindicated," in which she brought against Byron the charge that he had committed incest with his sister Mrs. Leigh. The generation that she disturbed and excited had largely passed away when in 1905 the late Earl of Lovelace, the grandson of Lord Byron, again brought the mystery out into the light by issuing his book "Astarte" in semi-private form for limited circulation. Last autumn his widow, Mary Countess of Lovelace, published a short memoir of her husband the chief object of which was to account for and justify his extraordinary, his surely unique action in printing documents and arguments calculated to substantiate the atrocious charges against his own grandfather which, even if they were shown to be incontestably well founded, he should have been, most right-minded men would have thought, the last man in the world to give authenticity and further currency to. Lady Lovelace's justification of his action rests largely upon the plea that Lord Lovelace had all his life brooded indignantly upon the contumely heaped upon his grandmother, Lady Byron, towards whom he had been closely drawn in childhood and upon whom all his loyalty and affection were lavished to the exclusion of any loyalty toward the memory of his grandfather. The insults to his grandmother, a worthy woman of whom the world would never have heard but for her marriage to a great and wayward genius, were largely the figments of his fancy; but be that as it may, his widow's attempt to justify his action is quite comprehensible. But there the matter should have been allowed to rest. The original edition of "Astarte" might continue to fetch fancy prices in the auction rooms; but already the generation that read, or more often read about, the book was passing; I have come frequently upon well-read men, even upon specialists in the field of English scholarship, who had never heard of it. Mr. Edgcumbe's publication of an alternative and less nasty explanation of the basic facts of the case was not sensational enough to keep the matter before the public mind, and knowledge of the theme of "Astarte" was certainly waning of late in spite of the fact that the charges contained in it had been accepted as proved in the latest biography of Byron, a clever, a little too clever, book published in 1912. The little group of men—the late Mr. Pember, Mr. John Murray, and Mr. R. E. Prothero—who, with dignity and good taste, circulated privately in 1906 the volume called "Lord Byron and His Detractors" did so with the avowed intention of leaving a counter-statement on record against the distant day (1954) when, the copyright on "Astarte" having expired, a new edition might appear and there should be need of an authoritative reply. Probably it never entered their minds that there would be need to issue their defense of Lord Byron publicly during this generation. They reckoned without their Lovelaces, and it is now, surely, Mr. Murray's duty to give the same publicity to Mr. Pember's admirable reply as Lady Lovelace has given to her late husband's book. For the Countess has now followed the memoir of Lord Lovelace with an enlarged and in some respects revised reprint of "Astarte." The new edition is copiously annotated by Lady Lovelace. It is handsomely got up, illustrated with portraits and facsimiles of letters. Nor has this reprint been put forth into the respectable twilight of private or semi-private circulation. It is published at eighteen shillings per copy, with two hundred copies on fine paper at three guineas each. The mistaken notion that "Astarte" is an immoral book will of course help to make it a commercial success. Thus, in the open market, family "secrets" of the most intimate sort are offered as ware to whoever wishes to buy. "Let this old woe step on the stage again!"

What changes have been made in this new edition? Some matter has been omitted, some new material of much interest added. In her introduction Lady Lovelace notes the omission of "an unnecessary amount of detail about individuals who were concerned with the records of Byron's life immediately after his death." The words are a trifle disingenuous, for the omitted "detail" includes a series of extraordinarily bitter and ignoble attacks upon John Murray (Byron's publisher) and upon his son, John Murray the Third, to whom Lord Lovelace and his family were under heavy moral and pecuniary obligations. Of those attacks Mr. Murray, the present head of the firm, disposed effectually in his contribution to "Lord Byron and His Detractors," and Lady Lovelace was well advised in supressing them. But she should have gone further and have suppressed certain sentences that are still, despite Mr. Murray's rejoinder, suffered to remain in her husband's preface. These sentences (found on pages xii-xiii of the new edition) deal with the circumstances of the publication of the great Coleridge-Prothero edition of Byron's works; Mr. Murray's complete and crushing reply, in which he places in parallel columns the affirmations contained in "Astarte" and the facts as proved in letters to him from Lord Lovelace, may be found on pages 83-86 of the volume already referred to. It is not necessary to repeat that reply here; but a rebuke is in order to Lady Lovelace for having printed the following condescending and misleading note: "It is fair to say that Mr. Murray has given an account of the transactions between himself and the author of 'Astarte' which differs in many respects from the above." The inference is that there are two sides to the question, whereas in reality—to speak plainly—the difference between the two accounts is that which exists between truth and falsehood.

This matter of the controversy between Lord Lovelace and Mr. Murray is no side issue; it is very germane to the main question. "Astarte" is a mischievous book because it is so plausible. Lord Lovelace did not know how to present an argument and he had no literary taste or gift, but he possessed a certain clumsy patience which resulted in the creation of an "atmosphere" or state of mind fitted for the reception of his weighty and atrocious family "secret." But the issues raised and settled between him and Mr. Murray are so clear-cut and conclusive as to warrant the assertion that no statement in his book is to be accepted unless substantiated beyond doubt by documentary evidence. Much is made of the "fact" that Sir Leslie Stephen, an expert in the art of biography, agreed with Lord Lovelace; the documents offered in support of this statement show only that Stephen outlined the course of the argument to be followed by Lord Lovelace, not that he agreed with him in his interpretation of the evidence; just as the document drafted by Dr. Lushington as guidance for Lady Byron shows that he did not consider the charges proved but merely indicated the proper course to be followed by Lady Byron who *was* convinced of the truth of those charges. It is a great pity that Lord Lovelace did not follow Stephen's outline closely. Such accusations (granting that it was necessary to drag them from the limbo of old, unhappy, far-off things) should have been made as simply and as briefly as possible. But what we have is a reckless medley—a semi-fictitious reconstruction of the circumstances of Lord Byron's life with detailed accounts of actions and speeches of which there can be no possible proof and with a large amount of discussion of subjects quite extraneous to the theme, supported by long pedantic citations from Hazlitt, Newman, Renan, Chateaubriand, and many other

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writers. The method employed is rather that of a novelist, of an awkward novelist who has not mastered the essentials of his art, than of a lawyer or historian. It reminds one of Balzac in his clumsier moments or of Bourget in its extravagantly subtle interpretations of character and motive.

The atmosphere of "Astarte" is so close and sultry that the light penetrates through it reluctantly. A single reading of the book is apt to carry conviction with it, and since oxen and wainropes would not drag most people through its dreary length twice, it has convinced many readers. But a careful study of the "evidence," such as was made by the clear-sighted and disinterested Mr. Pember, results in realization of the flimsiness of much of it and the needlessly perverse interpretation of much more. It seems that Mrs. Leigh never made any written confession of her guilt. That she confessed orally we can believe only on the unsupported testimony of Lady Byron. With knowledge of Lady's Byron's prejudice against her any jury would throw such evidence out of court. Among the new letters now published are those from Mrs. Leigh omitted from the previous edition on the advice of Sir Leslie Stephen. On the surface these seem to voice some consciousness of guilt or at least of uneasy bewilderment as to the meaning of Lady Byron's veiled hints and accusations. But these letters are susceptible to the alternative explanation first suggested by Mr. Pember and elaborated with needless complexities and ingenuity by Mr. Edgcumbe in his volume "Byron: The Last Phase." The thirty-four newly published letters from Byron (thirty-one to his sister; three to his wife) are certainly a great and welcome addition to the correspondence of the most brilliant of English letter-writers. It is much to be regretted that these letters (which Lord Lovelace first promised for and then withdrew from Mr. Prothero's edition) could not have been published apart from this book. But here they are and to come to them at the end, after the sickly motive-finding, conscience-probing epistles of Lady Byron and her set, is to come from a psychiatric clinic out into great open spaces. Some are naughty, some are revengeful, some are noisy, some are sentimental; but in all we hear the voice of genius. Save one sentence in one letter (an allusion to Lucretia Borgia) there is not a line in them capable of perversion by the most unhealthy imagination into evidence against Byron and his sister.

The partisan nature of Lord Lovelace's method of argument cannot be better illustrated than by a citation from the much discussed letter of Byron to some woman, written from Venice May 17, 1819, and first published in the original edition of "Astarte." Lord Lovelace said that the letter was written to Mrs. Leigh. To accept this statement in the face of the contrast in tone with the letters to Mrs. Leigh now published for the first time will take a good deal of credulity. By this letter Lord Lovelace's charges in great measure stand or fall. In it all names are erased, and the erasure, twice occurring, of the name of the person to whom the letter is addressed occupies (according to Lovelace himself) a short space of "three or four letters." The editor indicates the erasure by " . . . " Consider this sentence: Whenever I love anything, it is because it reminds me in some way or other of yourself—for instance I not long ago attached myself to a Venetian for no earthly reason (although a pretty woman), but because she was called , . . and she often remarked (without knowing the reason) how fond I was of the name." As all readers of Byron know, allusions to his fondness for the name of Mary occur constantly in his poetry and journals. No mistress of Byron's was named Augusta, nor could a name of that length fit into the brief erasure in this letter. The Venetian referred to was Marianna Segati; Mrs. Chaworth-Musters's name was Mary Anne. But even without this bit of evidence it is hard to understand how any man, not previously committed to belief in the truth of the charge of incest, can imagine that this passionate letter was addressed to the sister who received the witty, naughty, worldly letters which Lady Lovelace has now belatedly given to the world. How the letter came into Mrs. Leigh's possession and for what reason it was transmitted by her to Lady Byron along with certain mystifying epistles is, like the songs the Sirens sang, a problem not necessarily incapable of solution. One may, or one may not, accept Mr. Edgcumbe's solution of it.

I have never been able to accept unreservedly Mr. Edgcumbe's theory of a secret love affair between Byron and Mary Chaworth which Mrs. Leigh helped her brother to conceal at great sacrifice to her own reputation. (I am aware of the grave difficulties that were indicated by Andrew Lang. Lady Lovelace says (p. 315) that "complete affirmation of Mr. Lang's intuition" exists in the shape of a series of letters from Byron to Lady Melbourne which it is, unfortunately, not in her power to publish. Published they ought to be, as also the many letters that are known to exist from Byron to Hobhouse.[1]) It is of interest, however, that an argument I suggested tentatively in 1915 in support of Mr. Edgecumbe's theory has lately been independently suggested by Mr. R. C. K. Ensor in *The New Statesman* for May 7, 1921. In my monograph on "The Dramas of Lord Byron" (Gottingen, 1915) I printed a series of parallel passages indicating the close resemblance in personages and incidents that exists between "The Dream" and "Manfred." These two poems were both written in the same month. The one is romantically reminiscent of the past, the other passionately remorseful. But in both it is the same emotion that is recollected. No one denies that "The Dream" is a record of Byron's love for Mary Chaworth. It follows that she is the woman who is shadowed forth under the name Astarte in "Manfred." In lines 63-69 of "The Dream" one may find even the germ of the brother-and-sister idea later developed bafflingly in the dramatic poem. Mr. Edgcumbe accepted my argument as the clue to the whole problem. *The Nation*, in the course of a by no means wholly laudatory review of my book, accepted it likewise as valuable and sound and conclusive. I am myself not so sure; but the point is worth mentioning again at this time both because Mr. Ensor has raised it independently and because it serves to show to what opposite conclusions fair-minded people may come after examining the same evidence. For of course among those who have accepted "Astarte" as convincing there are fair-minded people.

But whether it wins acceptance or not "Astarte" will always be of intense interest as a "human document" exposing not only the mentality and morality of Byron and of the women whose fates were intertwined with his, but also the mentality and morality of the Earl of Lovelace. To the student of the human heart it offers matter for melancholy contemplation. If not a reflection of Byron, or at best a distorted reflection, it is a mirror of Lord Lovelace in its mingling of pride, arrogance, miscellaneous scholarship, and strange ingenuousness. It must be repeated that "Astarte" is not an immoral book; or if there is anything corrupting in it it comes not from Byron but from his grandson. The veiled defense of incest should have been suppressed in mercy to Lord Lovelace's memory, as should also have been blotted out the shocking passage in which Lovelace expressed the wish that Mrs. Leigh had gone off to Italy to live openly with Byron as his mistress. Then, says this unworthy grandson of a great genius, "Lady Byron's justification would have been complete, and great would have been their rejoicing." It may be questioned whether poor Byron, with all his sins, would ever have stooped so low as to pen that sentence.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

Man's Place in Nature

Manhood of Humanity: The Science and Art of Human Engineering. By Alfred Korzybski. E. P. Dutton and Company.

COUNT KORZYBSKI, in a book just now being much discussed and praised in many quarters, claims that the chaos in human society is due to a false conception of man's

[1] Since writing the above I have learned that these letters to Lady Melbourne are now being arranged for publication.—S. C. C.

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place in the realm of nature. He observes the different kinds of life—vegetable, animal, and human—and studies their functions so as to specify their respective roles in the order of things. Starting with the vegetable kingdom, and analyzing it according to his rigorous mathematical formula, he concludes that plant life has one definite function, and only one: It absorbs solar and cosmic energy and transforms it into organic chemical energy. It collects vitamines, and binds them up into sheaves. It does nothing else with this energy. The vitamines thus collected are available as food for animal and man. So vegetation expresses itself in this one way. It belongs to the solar-energy binding or chemical-binding class of life. It represents the first dimension of life.

Next, Korzybski turns to the animal world. What is the one outstanding function of the animal? he asks. How does it differ from the vegetable? He observes that it also consumes and transforms energy. But in addition—its functional differentation—it moves about from place to place. It has the power of autonomous mobility. It is conscious of space; it lives in space, and for space. The vegetable is not conscious of space; its only requisite for life is the chemical-energy sustaining qualities which it absorbs from their elements. The animal, therefore, belongs to the space-binding class of life. It represents the second dimension of life. Filling space is a simple job, except where two bodies try to occupy the same space at the same time. When this happens there is conflict, strife. With billions of bodies moving about, not in prescribed orbits, but according to their own whims, they are bound to come into conflict. It is not that they want to fight, but fighting is an inevitable result of their space-binding nature, and they have no higher functional capacity than to bind space.

Now, what is the function of man? Korzybski finds that man differs from animals in one respect, according to his mathematical analysis. But that one difference is vital. It is a difference as fundamental as is the difference between the solid and the surface in the science of physics. Man is conscious of time; in fact is the "exponential function of time." Man belongs to the time-binding class of life. He represents the third dimension of life. It is true he also has the space-binding characteristic of the second dimension, and like the animal possesses the capacity to absorb, conserve, and transform chemical energy—the sole function of the first dimension of life. It is analogous to the law of physics, wherein the solid, in addition to its own distinctive characteristic of a third dimension, also possesses the two dimensions of the surface; and the surface also has the characteristic of the first dimension —the line. But because of certain resemblances, we do not in physics intermix the dimensions. We do not add acres to gallons, nor linear feet to square feet.

Man entered the time-binding dimension of life when in some prehistoric age the dawning of reason caused him to contrive the first primitive tool to hand down for future generations to utilize and improve upon in the conquest of nature. The faculty that produced the first crude tool started the evolution of the other time-binding qualities of mankind. Man has at his disposal the wisdom of the centuries. He can commune with Socrates and the other luminous characters of all periods of history, whose energy has become ingrained into the element of time. He utilizes the time-binding energies of not only the immortals whose names are remembered, but of untold millions of human beings who have contributed their bit of posterity and died unhonored and unsung. Physically—i.e., the space-binding component—they have passed away and are forgotten, but their time-binding energy has been carried down, has been added to by each succeeding generation, and lives on immortal into the Future.

Korzybski argues that with a truly rational grip on the realities of life the errors of the past need not be repeated. In order to avoid the age-old succession of tragedies it is necessary to have some common ground as a basis for human conduct, human relations, and human aspirations. He throws overboard all the metaphysics and all the "animal" dogma of the materialistic philosophers. He considers the absolute terms of mathematics and the rigorous thinking of mathematical philosophy to be the universal language that is to speak the irrefutable facts of human life and its social relations so that all may understand. He conceives our whole social structure to be built on the false foundations of mixed dimensions. Man, possessing certain characteristics of animals, has unconsciously accepted the conclusion that his chief function is space-binding, and he has in substance cultivated an animal psychology in his social relations. He has made the fatal mistake of idealizing space, rather than emphasizing time as man's exponential function. As a consequence we have coveted space (territory), have fought over it until the earth periodically runs red. Man, imbued with the idea that he is a space-binder, has been groping along and acting like a space-binder. In acting like a space-binder, he must function primarily like an animal. His real element, time, is either ignored or given a bad second place in the scheme of things.

While our so-called social "sciences," ethics, law, politics, economics, government, because of their combined metaphysical and zoological properties, have lagged behind and have made little progress in centuries, the positive sciences, chemistry, engineering, technology, etc., have developed by leaps and bounds within comparatively recent years. Korzybski maintains that the chaos, wars, and eruptions of society are due to the discrepancy and lack of coordination between these two general groups of science around which human life is woven. Until we rationalize, or humanize, our conception of man and his functions, and develop our social organization along the lines of positive mathematical logic, as we have in the field of technology, for instance, periodical catastrophes are bound to occur, which are merely blind efforts to strike a new adjustment in the total situation.

WILLIAM J. FIELDING

M. Rolland Sees It Through

Clerambault: The History of a Free Conscience During the War. By Romain Rolland. Henry Holt and Company.

IF the daily papers and conversation of the war period could be taken a week at a time, boiled down to an essence, and flavored with interpretative thought, the vintage would be such a novel as "Clerambault." It is a physician's sane and compassionate record of a patient in delirium together with his diagnosis. Is "Clerambault" a novel? It is a supremely skilful blending of the narrative and essay forms, exactly what it purports to be, the "history of a free conscience during the war." Its pages swarm with characters all sharply individualized, their personalities showing this or that aberration under the lens of war influence. It is hard to call to mind any typical variety of personal or group opinion which is not here recorded and interpreted. The work is a cliff in the strata of which one reads the successive periods of geological deposit. It belongs to one country little more than to all the others.

Clerambault is a poet of national standing, at the outbreak of the war an ardent patriot. His son's manifest disillusionment and eventual death in the trenches sets the father searching his heart. Like many another, under this ordeal he turns pacifist. His old colleagues attack him. His daughter is jilted by her soldier betrothed. His wife is disaffected. He himself becomes the center of a cyclone of hatred through which he walks serene, attracting or repelling every phase of spiritual reaction to the stimuli of war time, until he is felled by the assassin's bullet. The drama is all within. Yet there it is so intense that the effect is as if the brush of a great painter had found a way to paint souls while only indicating in outline the bodies which house them. Most of these souls belong more to the herd than to themselves. "My theme," says M. Rolland, "is that the individual soul has been swallowed up and submerged in the soul of the multitude: and in my opinion such

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an event is of far greater importance to the future of the race than the passing supremacy of one nation."

The study is singularly free from bias. Perhaps it is because M. Rolland can see all that others see, and sympathize; only he is able to see so much more that they do not. And he is sure enough of his own pacifist position to admit into his pages the most formidable criticisms of it by the Left Wing Communists. His thesis, from start to finish, is the supreme importance to society of protecting individual quest for truth. The society which fails in this is a suicide. It is, of course, the problem of any age how to save its saviors; but especially of ours. "There are now only two sorts of minds," says M. Rolland: "those shut up behind bars, and those open to all that is alive, to the entire race of man, even our enemies. These men, few though they may be, compose the true internationale." And the paralytic soldier who pronounces the final words on the closed career of Clerambault says: "The most dangerous adversary of society and the established order in this world of violence, falsehood, and base compromise is, and always has been, the man of peace and a free conscience. The crucifixion of Jesus was no accident. He had to be put to death. He would be executed today; for a great evangelist is a revolutionary, and the most radical of all."

Mr. H. G. Wells penned a study of a conscience in war time which he called "Mr. Britling Sees It Through." Its defect was that neither Mr. Wells nor Mr. Britling saw it through. The difference between that work and "Clerambault" is that M. Rolland did see it through. He is one of a meager handful of European intellectuals who have come through the war period with clean hands, and, what is more, with a clean heart. In "Liluli" he laughs. In "Clerambault" he pities. But at no time has he allowed himself to hate. His sadness he cannot conceal. But there is no shrinking from the ugliest realities of our modern chaos.

"Clerambault" is a chronicle of sanity in a lunatic age. This novel is what tomorrow will be saying of today. A time will come when men will marvel that any brain could have been so clear as to write this book between the years 1916 and 1920. During the war Romain Rolland became, in a sort, the custodian of the European conscience. When everybody else cast it out he took it in. He did not compromise. He did not flinch. And every page of this work shines with the clairvoyance which is the reward of such intellectual integrity. By virtue of it truth is revealed to him which, to other eyes, was holden. Unlike Clerambault, luckily for us, the assassin's bullet did not find him, as it has found more than one of his stamp. He is alive and free to speak, and his speech is as the still, small voice of the collective conscience reawakening after the collective madness.

Silent at last is the roar of cannon, and, as I turn the pages of this book, I cannot but think of the prophet on the mountain. For God was not in the whirlwind, nor yet in the earthquake. But God was in the still, small voice. LUCIEN PRICE

Notable New Books

Poems of the English Race. Selected and Edited by Raymond Macdonald Alden. Scribner.

A capacious anthology, for readers between fifteen and twenty years old, of poems by the race of English-speaking poets from Chaucer to Alfred Noyes. The title is narrower than the contents.

Fifteen Years in America. By Sudhindra Bose. Calcutta: Kar, Majumder.

A reflective examination of American life by a Hindu who has lived here as student, lecturer, and teacher, who in the main is in sympathy with the American experiment, and who intends his book largely for his own countrymen.

The Non-Partisan League. By Andrew A. Bruce. Macmillan.

A study of the League by a former judge and present professor who regards it as "a political movement which was promoted at first for the gratification of personal ambition and the attainment of personal ends, but which was soon captured by the American socialist hierarchy who are now seeking to make it the entering wedge for the attainment of a socialist America."

The Horse-Stealers and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. From the Russian by Constance Garnett. Macmillan.

Vol. X of this admirable translation of a matchless collection of short stories.

Albion W. Tourgée. By Roy F. Dibble. Columbia University Press.

A careful, crisp biography of the once famous author of "A Fool's Errand," here interestingly set forth as "soldier, carpetbagger, politician, judge, consul, lecturer, editor and publisher, political writer, and novelist."

Fray Luis De Leon. A Biographical Fragment. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs.) Oxford.

An erudite and engaging essay upon one of the greatest Spanish poets, with particular attention to his trial before the Inquisition.

Vanessa and Her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift. Edited by A. Martin Freeman. Houghton Mifflin.

The letters edited for the first time from the originals, with a careful commentary by Mr. Freeman, which does not, however, add greatly to our knowledge of Swift's mysterious affair with Esther Vanhomrigh.

William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement. By J. Bruce Glasier. Longmans, Green.

An intimate account by a Scottish disciple who regarded Morris as "one of the greatest men of genius this or any other land has ever known."

French Essays and Profiles. By Stuart Henry. Dutton.

Attractive gossip about the France of the age just past.

The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered. By Thomas Heywood. Edited by Alexander Corbin Judson. Yale University Press.

A worthy edition of an Elizabethan play now for the first time made accessible to the general reader.

Text, Type, and Style: A Compendium of Atlantic Usage. By George B. Ives. Atlantic Monthly Press.

A thoroughly admirable and practical handbook intended "for the curious and careful in words and print."

The Labor International Handbook. Edited by R. Palme Dutt. London: Labor Publishing Company and George Allen and Unwin.

A much-needed book, half of which is a review of recent international affairs for labor leaders and the rest a guide to the international labor movement for the general student. The editor says in his preface: "This Handbook is the first post-war attempt to make a complete survey of the world of international labor after the tremendous transformations that have taken place. The errors and omissions that it is certain to contain, will, it is hoped, arouse so much indignant correction that something like a full and accurate picture may eventually be obtained."

Marcus Aurelius. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. Yale.

A biography of the Emperor, with an exposition, more sweet than strong, of the Stoic "religion."

A History of the Association Psychology. By Howard C. Warren. Scribner.

A keen and sympathetic study of the idea of the association of ideas in consciousness from Aristotle to the most recent schools.

Who's Who and Why in After-War Education. Institute for Public Service.

A somewhat erratic and miscellaneous compilation which nevertheless contains a great deal of useful matter.

Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-2. By Joseph Williams. The Cadmus Book Shop.

A limited edition of a curious and interesting document which was printed in 1843 but of which only two copies are known to exist.

Drama

The Plymouth Pageant

PLYMOUTH was cheaply gay with bunting. Motor-cars crept or stagnated in the dust and a dispirited-looking, tawdry crowd seemed chiefly bent on consuming ice-cream cones and buying badges. Nothing that is venerable or serene appeared unsought. The obvious picture was that of Fair week on Main Street. Food was dear and bad; the whole atmosphere was both eager and listless. To have come straight to Plymouth to see the pageant must have been an experience equally disastrous to one's temper and one's appreciative faculties.

Such was, happily, not our approach. Along the North Shore—"North of Boston"—lies the frugal, spare, cool loveliness that is New England. There are the rude stone walls, the hardy little orchards; there lies Marblehead with old mariners' houses turning their faces away from the harsh rocks and the hungry sea toward small sunny gardens full of iris and

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larkspur and tall hollyhocks; there you may still, in Gloucester harbor, wander in and out among fishing schooners and in Salem pass through the secret passage in the House of the Seven Gables and view, in the exquisite collections of the Peabody Museum, the treasures of the fabled Orient which the masters of long lost ships brought to this rock-bound coast. Everywhere, too, especially in Salem, you meet the strong, visible evidences that the colonists who fled for freedom's sake meant by freedom only their own particular kind of it and perpetuated in its name the very tyrannies from which they had escaped. But in this they were only like most other people throughout history; and among their descendants, who are very gentle and a little weary, you recall, standing on their burial hills or visiting their white, gabled houses, only their hardihood and strength.

Coming from that North Shore it was possible to brush aside the intrusions that made Plymouth noisy and ugly and take one's seat at the pageant with a feeling of untroubled sympathy for the men and histories that were here to be symbolized and commemorated. The scene was one of great beauty. The tiers of seats bounded a triangle the base of which was the sea. A replica of the Mayflower was anchored off shore. There were still streaks of orange and red in the west. The place itself and its memories and a quiet contemplation of them was perhaps more impressive than anything that followed. For here the impressiveness was effortless. And there is no doubt that the pageant itself was characterized, primarily, by a gigantic and highly intelligent effort that always hovered on the edge of overcoming the obstacles of its aim and never for more than a moment succeeded. No sooner had the darkness fallen and Mr. M. R. Pevear begun to let his lighting sweep the triangular pageant-field, than one became aware of the simple fact that art needs isolation. Searchlights from the fleet in Plymouth harbor spread their silver fans across the sky and locomotives in the neighborhood barked and clanked. The dark sky was too vast, the breeze blew now in one direction, now in another, and the strains of the orchestra were controlled not by its conductor but by the winds. The trouble is inherent. Nature, too, achieves an isolation parallel to that of art. The satellites of Jupiter do not drop in on the spectacles she arranges; no Martian storms spoil her effects. Despite the marvelous lighting, despite the misleading analogies of the Greek and medieval theaters, the pageant was, at every other moment, lost somewhere between earth and sky and one strained terribly to hold or recover its unquestionable beauty of significant color and motion.

The intrusion of speech and the attempt to create the illusion of indoor scenes—a prison, a ship's cabin—through luminous spots on the dark field completed one's sense of the helplessness of art except upon its proper ground. Now and then, when the wind blew from the right quarter, a voice became articulate. But articulate only. The mere vocal effort made modulation, made any sort of dramatic expressiveness quite impossible. Heavily rhythmed verse might have helped. But the dialogues are written in artificial and rather toneless prose. Structurally the scenes that are to illustrate the progress of the Pilgrim spirit are skilful and intelligent. Their speech is jejune. The interludes in verse were sung and neither Mr. E. A. Robinson nor Mr. Robert Frost can be said to have warmed to the occasion.

What remained, then, was the visibly symbolical. And that was, at many moments, notably beautiful, vivid, impressive. The very first scene, the landing of Thorvald and his Norsemen, had both brightness and remoteness; the figures were both men and memories. The ship, the shields and spears, the scarlet cloak of Thorvald, the dun and stealthy Indians, all combined to form a vision of concrete reality blended with dream-like beauty. Equally effective through the play of softer colors but the rhythm of larger masses was the march of the Dutch cities. The success of these massive and largely rhythmic scenes illustrated at once the limitations and the one possible function of pageantry. That function was most perfectly and, indeed, splendidly exercised in the second scene of the second episode called The Opposition. A royal progress winds across the field—King James and his nobles and prelates, ambassadors and pages and ladies, soldiers and magistrates. All the pomp and glitter and power of the world appear in solid ranks. The procession stops. Suddenly within the gold and scarlet, yellow and silver, emerges a little, forlorn group in gray. They are the Puritan Petitioners—the outcasts, rebels, revolutionaries whose conscience resists the existing order even to martyrdom and death. There they stand in their one memorable and immortal gesture. A child could grasp the symbolism. The spoken words intruded dully. The scene was great pictorially. It was more than that. It justified to every mind the honor paid to the Pilgrims, the celebration itself, and one's own pilgrimage to Plymouth.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

The Cassel Collieries Contract

THE text of the Cassel Collieries Contract between Great Britain and the defunct Kwantung Government in China, treated by Mr. Hodges in another part of this issue of *The Nation*, is given below.

AGREEMENT made this twenty-third day of April One thousand Nine hundred and twenty being the ninth year of the Republic of China Twenty-third day fourth moon BETWEEN the Government of the Province of Kwongtung in the Republic of China represented by their Excellencies the Military and Civil Governors of the Province of Kwongtung (hereinafter called The Kwongtung Government) of the one part, and Major Louis Cassel (retired) of Victoria in the Colony of Hongkong, an officer of the most Excellent Order of the British Empire, and Sum Pak-Ming of Victoria, aforesaid gentlemen as trustees for and on behalf of a syndicate to be formed for the purpose of exploiting certain coal-bearing districts in the said Province (hereinafter called the Syndicate) of the other part, whereby it is agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. The Kwongtung Government will permit the Syndicate to bore, examine, and survey such ground as the Syndicate may be advised, or have reason to believe, contains coal within the following districts (abutting over, or adjacent to, the Canton-Hankow Railway and the Canton-Kowloon Railway), viz., Nam Hoi, Pun U, Tung Koon, Po On, Sam Sui, Fa Yuen, Ying Tak, Ching Yuen, Yeung Shan, Lin Yuen, Kuk Kong, Lok Cheong, Yue Yuen, Yan Fa, Chee Hing, Nam Hung, Fat Kong, Yung Yuen, Ko Ming, Tsang Shing, Tsung Fa, etc., and the Government will not after the date of the signing of this agreement grant permits to any other person, firm, or company to bore, examine, survey, and mine in any of the districts above mentioned until the period set forth in Clause 13 hereof shall have lapsed.

2. The Kwongtung Government shall cause this agreement to be provisionally signed and chopped, whereupon the Syndicate shall take all such steps as may be necessary to obtain the official sanction and approval thereto of the Central Government of China at Peking, and upon such sanction and approval being obtained the Kwongtung Government shall ratify this agreement and immediately thereupon the Syndicate shall deposit with the Kwongtung Government the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, Hongkong currency.

3. Within a period of nine months from the ratification aforesaid of this agreement the Syndicate shall, in the event of the said boring, examination, and survey of the grounds in the districts aforesaid appearing to the Syndicate to justify the Syndicate so doing, float a company to be called "The Kwong Tung Collieries, Limited" with a nominal capital of ten million dollars for the purpose of working coal mines in the said districts and of dealing with the coal thereby procured and shall transfer to such company all rights and benefits and liabilities of the Syndicate under this agreement.

4. In the event of no such company being floated by the Syndicate within the said period of nine months the Kwongtung Government shall be entitled to retain the said sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and this agreement shall thereupon terminate; but in the event of such company being floated a further sum of nine hundred thousand dollars (making with the said sum of one hundred thousand dollars a sum of altogether one million dollars) shall be deposited within the said period of nine months by that company with the Kwongtung Government, as security for the due carrying out by the company of its objects as set out in the memorandum and articles of association.

5. The said sum of one million dollars, when so deposited in pursuance of Clause 4 hereof, shall bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, which interest the company shall be entitled to deduct from the dividends payable to the Kwongtung Government or its nominees in pursuance of the provisions of Clause 8 hereof. There shall be further deducted from the dividends so payable to the Kwongtung Government or its nominees 4 per cent per annum on the said sum of one million dollars for the purpose of forming an amortization or sinking fund which shall be exchanged in sums of not less than ten thousand dollars for the "B" shares referred to in Clause 8 hereof until the whole of the said sum of one million dollars shall be so received by the company. If no dividend is payable the Kwongtung Government will not pay any interest on the said sum of one million dollars. If the dividend payable is not sufficient to pay the interest of the said sum of one million dollars, the Kwongtung Government will not make up the deficit. The deduction from the dividends for forming the amortization or sinking fund is similarly calculated. If the company goes into liquidation the deposited money shall be returned by the Kwongtung Government and this agreement will determine.

6. The said sum of ten million dollars (fixed as the nominal capital of the company to be floated as aforesaid) shall be divided into one million shares of ten dollars each, half of which shall be classed as "A" shares and shall be allotted by the directors of the company who are of British nationality in such manner as they may decide, but in pursuance of an agreement previously to be entered into with the Syndicate the other half of such shares shall be classed as "B" shares and shall be considered as fully paid up shares and shall be allotted by the directors of the company who are of Chinese nationality in such manner as they may decide (subject to the provisions of Clause 8 hereof).

7. The articles of association of the said company to be floated as aforesaid shall provide that, out of the profits of the company, there shall be first paid all working expenses, a royalty not exceeding one dollar per ton of all coal extracted and dealt with, all reasonable expenses to staff, sums properly payable to the Kwongtung Government, and interest at the rate of 8 per cent per annum on the capital represented by the "A" shares to the holders thereof; and the remainder of the said profits as shall be declared available for dividend shall be paid by way of dividend to holders of "A" and "B" shares equally.

8. Upon the incorporation of the company to be floated as aforesaid the company shall make the following allotment of shares, namely: (*a*) Fully paid "B" shares to the nominal value of one million dollars which shall be held by the company in trust for the Kwongtung Government, the dividends on which shall *inter alia* form the amortization or sinking fund referred to in Clause 5 hereof. As and when sums of not less than ten thousand dollars are available in the said amortization or sinking fund the said fully paid "B" shares to an equivalent value shall be transferred to the Kwongtung Government. (*b*) Fully paid "B" shares to the nominal value of five hundred thousand dollars to trustees to be nominated by the Kwongtung Government for the benefit of the poor people in the Province of Kwongtung. (*c*) Fully paid "B" shares to the nominal value of five hundred thousand dollars to trustees to be nominated by the Kwongtung Government for educational purposes in the Province of Kwongtung.

In consideration of the said allotments as aforesaid the Government will cause to be executed all such documents as may be necessary for the purpose of definitely granting to such company the right, for a period of ninety years from the date of such incorporation, to bore, dig, extract, transport, export, and sell, or otherwise utilize all or any portion of the coal extracted from all or any of the areas mentioned in Clause 13 hereof except the areas conceded to other companies and worked on a commercial basis as provided in Clause 18 hereof.

9. The company shall pay to the Kwongtung Government only such duties as are for the time being imposed upon the Kailan mining administration.

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10. At the expiration of the said period of ninety years the same may be extended, or continued, upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon between the Government and the company so to be incorporated as aforesaid.

11. From the date of ratification of this agreement and during the said period of ninety years, and extended period (if any), the Kwongtung Government shall use its best endeavors to protect the persons employed by the said company, and their rights for property, and the rights of property of the said company, in the mines, machinery, buildings, plant, and any other goods, effects, or property to which the said company and the said persons may be entitled for the time being.

12. The articles of association of the company to be floated as aforesaid shall further contain provisions to the following effect: (*a*) That the board of directors of such company shall consist of seven persons, three of whom shall be elected by the holders of "A" shares and shall be of European nationality, and three of whom shall be elected by the holders of "B" shares and shall be of Chinese nationality. The remaining director shall be of British nationality, and shall be elected by the other six directors. (*b*) That the staff of the said company shall consist of an European manager, and of such European engineers or supervisors as may be deemed necessary by the company and shall also consist of two secretaries, one of whom shall be of British or other European nationality and the other Chinese nationality. (*c*) That the miners and unskilled laborers shall all be of Chinese nationality, and, so far as possible, be natives of the districts in which they are employed. (*d*) That the existing laws and regulations of China with regard to mining shall be followed.

13. Immediately upon the payment of the said sum of one hundred thousand dollars referred to in Clause 2 hereof the company shall have the right to demarcate within a period of nine months such areas in the districts set forth in Clause 1 hereof as areas in which the company desires to carry on mining operations and upon the payment by the company to the Kwongtung Government of the sum of nine hundred thousand dollars referred to in Clause 4 hereof the said period of nine months shall be extended for a further period of six months (making a period of fifteen months in all). The company shall from time to time during the said period notify to the Director of Mining in Canton, or such other person as the Kwongtung Government may designate, [areas to] be registered in the name of the company in parcels of land (whether separate or adjoining) each not exceeding ten square Li.

14. The company shall not deliberately destroy or damage any cultivated lands, graves, or tombs belonging to individuals, and in the event of any accidental destruction thereof, or damage thereto, the said company shall at its own expense repair such damage or pay the individual sustaining the same reasonable compensation therefor.

15. The said company when incorporated shall, for the purpose of its business, be entitled to use any waterways, wharves, ports, railways, and other means of transport or storage now existing in the Kwongtung Province; and also to construct, manage, superintend, and work any other roads, railways, and buildings as may be deemed available for the purpose of the business of the said company, or to improve these now existing but shall pay reasonable remuneration or compensation to any individual or individuals affected or prejudiced by such use or construction.

16. In the event of there being in existence unworked coal mines within the districts mentioned in Clause 1 hereof the company shall be entitled to work the same in all respects as if such mines had been discovered by the Syndicate or the said company.

17. Any concessions or mining rights within the said districts already granted by the Kwongtung Government which have not yet been worked on a commercial basis or exercised, shall be revoked by the Kwongtung Government; and all such concessions or mining rights as have been worked on a commercial basis, or exercised may be acquired by the said company on payment to the proprietors thereof such sums as they may agree to accept; and the Kwongtung Government will render all such assistance as it is able to render to enable the said company to acquire such concessions or mining rights at a reasonable price.

18. The coal mines for which mining rights have been granted and on which work has been commenced by other companies are as follows:

Names of Coal Mines	Districts	Area
Tai Tong Shan	Nam Hoi	576.55 Mao
Jeung Shan	"	8.071 Sq. Li.
Cheung Kong	Pun U	540 Mao
Tai Woh Ling	Fa Yuen	1100 "
Kow Chun Woo	"	270 "
Wang Tong Ling	"	342.45 "
Kow Woo Tseung, Tai Tat Sha Kwut	"	351 "
Koon Tseun Tin Sze Ling	Yue Yuen	573 "
Junk Ngam Chung	"	272.57 "
Lu Tseung Pat Tze Ling	"	364.34 "
Koon Tseung, Kit Tsze Tun	"	3494 "
Po On Shan	Lin Yuen	Nil
Lin Tong Tseum	"	200 Mao
See Tsze Kong	"	Nil
Ki Tsze Kurk	"	502 Mao
Pak Moon Heung Lo Fo Tung	"	972 "
Lap Shak Par	Kook Kong	808 "
Lap Shak How Shan	"	One Sq. Li.
Ling Chai Tow	"	87.5 Mao
Hap Chai Two	"	18.4 "
Tong Chung Ling	"	547.73 "
Lo Tong Shan	"	One Sq. Li.
Tung Sui Har Sun Shan	"	829.141 Mao
Tin Lor Ling	"	98.583 "
Tung Sui Moi Shan Sui Chong	"	540 "
Kong Ying Ling	"	800 "
Ngam Ping Ling	"	399.8 "
Cheung Chung Lin	"	366.65 "
Lo Tong Ling	"	One Sq. Li.
Tung Sui Mai Shan Aui Ling	"	470 " "
Tui Mun Ling Kwai Tow Shan	"	270 " "
Tong Cheung Ling	"	1 Sq. li & 7.7 Mao
Poon Ying Ling	Lok Cheong	325 Mao
Tin Tong Lin	"	Nil
To Chu Ling	"	894.26 Mao
Ting Tsze Pouy	"	3906 "
Tong Ngor Lee Shan	"	154.16 "
Cham Mok Tow	Ying Tak	540 "
Kai Ting Po	Fa Yuen	1 Sq.li & 492.15 Mao
Koon Chun	Yue Yuen	314.533 Mao
Tai Wuk Ngow	Pun U	Nil
Kow Cheun Wo King Shiu Ling	Fa Yuen	276.5 Mao
Kwoo Lin Tsze	Lok Cheong	699.8505 "
Pak Kong Ling	Kook Kong	471 "
To Chong	Lok Cheong	4875 "
Chan Mok Ling Kow Ngar Tung	Yue Yuen	840.55 "
Chai Kurk Chuen Nam Ling Tow	"	536.21 "
Woo Shak Tu	Ko Ming	23.562 "
Ling Wan Shan	"	725 "
Tung Kok Shan	"	103.075 "

19. The coal mines which have been granted to other companies but which have not yet been worked are as follows:

Names of Mines	Districts	Area
Lung Hang Ling	Fa Yuen	727.4 Mao
See Mow Wor	Ling Yuen	265.8 "
Sai Ling Pouy	Lok Cheong	342.891 "
Cheung Fung Ling	Lin Yuen	Same section as Ki Shan Kurk.
Shak Hap Tei Por Tong	Tung Koon	7 Sq. Li. & 246.219 Mao
Ting Tow Show Kow Ling	Lok Cheong	373 "

20. In the event of civil war, strikes, boycotts, or other disturbances occurring in the districts specified in Clause 1 hereof or any part thereof during the period mentioned in Clause 13 hereof which shall prevent or interfere with the Syndicate or the said company carrying on its or their operations under this agreement, the said period mentioned in Clause 13 shall, as regards the districts affected, be extended for the same length of time as the Syndicate or said company shall be so prevented from carrying on or interfered with in the carrying on by them of the said operations as aforesaid.

21. This agreement is drawn up in English and Chinese. It is hereby expressly agreed that in case any difference shall appear or disputes arise as to the construction thereof the English copy shall prevail and be adopted.

22. In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the said company and the Kwongtung Government, or any of the individuals mentioned in clauses 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 hereof, in relation to this agreement, the same shall be sub-

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mitted to the arbitration of two persons, one to be appointed by the Syndicate or by the said company as the case may be, and the other by the Kwongtung Government, and in the event of such arbitrators not agreeing, to an umpire to be appointed by them who shall be of neither British nor Chinese nationality; and the award of such arbitrators or the umpire shall be final and conclusive.

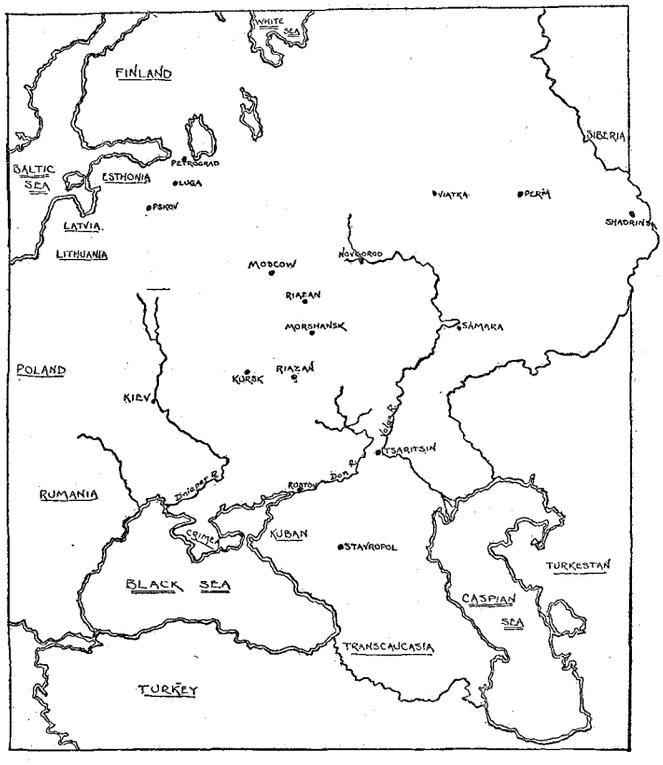
In witness whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and the year first above written.

Signed, Chopped, Sealed, and Delivered by the above mentioned His Excellency the Military Governor of Kwongtung.	Private Chop of Mok Wing San.	The Official Seal of His Excellency the Military Governor of Kwong Tung.
Signed, Chopped, Sealed, and Delivered by the above mentioned His Excellency the Civil Governor of Kwong Tung.	Private Chop of Cheung Kan Fong.	The Official Seal of His Excellency the Civil Governor of Kwong Tung.
Signed, Sealed, and delivered by the above named Louis Cassel in the presence of: (sgd) Ho Shing Chong.	(sgd) L. CASSEL, *Major*	L.S.
Signed, Sealed, and delivered by the above named Sum Pak Ming in the presence of: (sgd) Ho Shing Chong.	(sgd)	L.S.

The Extent of the Russian Famine

THE article printed below taken from *Rosta Wien* (Vienna) for July 22, with the accompanying map shows the famine area in Russia and the status of this year's crop in other sections:

Russia, the land of infant mortality and ignorance is also the land of famines. This is due to the climatic peculiarities. Its huge continental mass is often swept by drying winds. Also the primitive methods of agriculture are to blame. The ground is worked only on the surface, with primitive tools, and thus retains the moisture in a very small measure. Rational irrigation in Russia is practically unknown so that large districts of Russia are covered with standing water and huge plains are left without irrigation. The working of the fields is also irrational. The three-field system, which is common, leaves a third of the ground fallow each season. Finally everyone who has visited Russia knows how many thousands and tens of thousands of hectares of black earth lie unworked owing to lack of animals and through the will of the population. The former social and political system and also nature are to blame for this. Last of all the foolish policy of deforestation has contributed a great deal, as for example in causing the sinking in the level of the Volga.



According to the statements of the authorities the crops are satisfactory northwest of the following line: Rostov, Voronesh, Morshansk, Riazan, Viatka, Perm, Shadrinsk. Within the line Kursk, Moscow, Novgorod, Luga, and Pskov the harvest is even good. Unfortunately this region is the least rich in grains from which bread can be made. In Siberia the harvest is average or over average, in Taiga it is under average. In the Caucasus it is bad northeast from Stavropol and good in the district north of the Kuban and in Transcaucasia. In the northeast Ukraine it is average or over average, and on the right bank of the Dnieper it is fairly good. In other places it is bad. Only in the region of the Crimea is it good. The official agricultural report states quite correctly that the statements of those who are directly interested in the matter are naturally made pessimistic in order to obtain a reduction of the produce tax. It concerns winter grain, upon which the rainfall in the second week of June could have no more influence, whereas on the spring grain one could perceive the beneficial effects. The same report remarks also that this rain, although slight, had a colossal influence in the southeast in connection with a rise in temperature. This year's harvest will exceed that of last year by fifty million poods (835,000 tons) thanks to the extension of the acreage due to measures taken by the Soviet Government. . . .

The Turco-Italian Agreement

THE text of the Turco-Italian agreement of March 13 was published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) for May 28.

His Excellency Count Sforza, president of the Italian Delegation and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Italy, on the one hand, and His Excellency Bekir Samy Bey, president of the Delegation of the Great National Assembly and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, on the other, have thus agreed:

1. There shall be economic collaboration between Italy and Turkey with a prior right in economic concessions in the sanjaks of Adalia, Burdur, Mugla, Isparta, and in a part of the sanjaks of Afion-Kara-Hissar and of Kutaya, Aidin, and Konia to be determined by a definitive agreement, in so far as such economic developments shall not be effected directly by the Ottoman Government or by Ottoman subjects with the aid of national capital. The coal mines of Heraclea within the limits to be designated on a map shall be conceded to an Italo-Turkish group.

2. Concessions involving monopolies or privileges shall be exploited by societies formed in accordance with Ottoman law.

3. There shall be the largest possible association of Turkish with Italian capital (participation may reach 50 per cent).

4. The Royal Government of Italy agrees to support effectively all the demands of the Turkish delegation relative to the peace treaty, especially the restitution of Thrace and Smyrna.

5. The Royal Government of Italy gives formal assurance that it will recall its troops now on Ottoman territory not later than the ratification of peace and according to an agreement to be reached between the two countries.

6. The above dispositions will be made effective by a convention to be adopted by the contracting parties immediately after the conclusion of a peace assuring Turkey a feasible and independent existence and accepted by her.

Done at London, in two copies, March 13, 1921.

(Signed) SFORZA, S. BEKIR

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